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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

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OF

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

IN

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NORTH AMERICA;

INCLUDING

THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, THE SHORES OF THE POLAR SEA, AND THE VOYAGES IN SEARCH OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE;

WITH

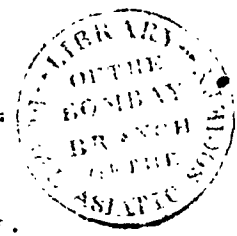
OBSERVATIONS ON EMIGRATION.

BY HUGH MURRAY, ESQ., F.R.S.E.,

Author of Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, Asia, &c.

Illustrated by a Map of North America.

VOL. II.



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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK II.

VOYAGES FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE TO INDIA.

THE preceding Book has exhibited the progress of American discovery and settlement as it took place in all the temperate climates, and in those regions which the emigrants from Europe were destined to cover with great and flourishing nations. But there was carried on, at the same time, beyond the boundaries, as it were, of the habitable world, amid the realms of perpetual ice and snow, a succession of grand enterprises, which, though they failed of their immediate object, presented an extraordinary series of adventure, and included grand displays of naval skill and prowess. These voyages, therefore, interspersed with a few land-expeditions to the same quarter, will furnish an ample and interesting subject for this Second Book.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES.

Rise of a Spirit of Discovery in England.—Sebastian Cabot Grand Pilot.—Expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby.—Sir Martin Frobisher—First Voyage—Second Voyage—Third Voyage.—John Davis—First Voyage—Second Voyage—Third Voyage.—Maldonado.—Weymouth.—Knight—His Death.—Hudson's early Voyages—Fourth Voyage and tragical End.—Sir Thomas Button.

AFTER all the splendid scenes which the New World had exhibited, and the fountains of wealth which it had opened, the first object with which Columbus had left the shores of Spain to cross the unknown Atlantic continued ever to glitter foremost in the eyes of Europeans. Another and a shorter passage to the golden regions of the East was, if not the primary, always the ultimate object of those who spread westward the sail of discovery. So long as the idea of an island-group attached to the regions of the newly-discovered world, a passage among these islands might be naturally expected. The illusion was cherished by the delusive ideas, then prevalent, re-

specting the magnitude and relative position of the different parts of the earth. In some of the early delineations America and Asia are found actually conjoined through their whole mass; and while on one side are Mexico and Brazil, on the other are India and the Cattigara of Pliny. The eager activity, however, of the great maritime explorers had long before the lapse of half a century dispelled these early hopes. Vesputius, Ojeda, Grijalva, had searched all round the Gulf of Mexico, and found it every where enclosed by vast lands; while to the southward an unbroken mass of continent was found indefinitely extending. In the north, again, the long ranges of coast surveyed, vainly as to this object, by Cabot, Cortereal, Verazzani, and Cartier, chilled the hope of finding, within any temperate latitude, this grand commercial route. The European mind, however, continued still fixed on this long-cherished aim with deep and romantic ardour, which seemed to strengthen in proportion to the obstacles which rose against it. At length the spirit of adventure advanced to a daring height. A race of bold mariners were found, who dreaded not to face all the inclemencies of the polar sky, in climes that lie beneath the sway of perpetual winter. Perhaps at best this could never be any thing but a grand and daring chimera. That the merchant should find a safe and commodious passage, during the short arctic summer, along coasts just loosened from ice, of which mighty mountains still floated around him, could only, perhaps, have been formed in that lofty and excited state of mind which prompts to distant adventure. But man's high exer-

tions afford a reward to themselves in the energies which they create, and the spirit which they diffuse. No sphere of exertion has made a grander display of the prowess and daring of British seamen, for it is with pride we reflect that this career has been almost exclusively theirs. Britain began, carried on, and has now very nearly completed the delineation of these vast unknown boundaries of the habitable earth.

It was under the short but patriotic and popular reign of Edward VI. that the maritime spirit of Britain, which before had emitted only transient sparks, burst into a steady and ample blaze. The northern passage to India was the object which called forth the royal patronage and the national enthusiasm. It was not by America, however, but by the north-east of Asia, that the passage was first sought. A company, said to consist of "grave citizens of London, and men of great wisdom," was formed, under the title of "Merchants Adventurers, for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknown." Five thousand pounds were subscribed, and three vessels constructed, in the most careful manner, and with even new precautions, among which was that of covering the keel with thin sheets of lead. Sebastian Cabot, recalled to England, and created Grand Pilot of the kingdom, drew up instructions for the conduct of the expedition. The command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, whose birth, known prowess, and even his noble and commanding figure, threw a new lustre on the undertaking. They sailed down the Thames on the 10th May, 1553, and as they passed Greenwich,

where the court then resided, attracted the notice not only of the first nobility, but of the whole body of the people, who lined the shore, and even the roofs of the houses. Guns were fired, handkerchiefs waved, and the air rung with shouts of acclamation. The thought of the mighty and unknown seas into which they were to plunge served only, in this moment of exultation, to give an inspiring grandeur to the enterprise. Few probably of those who hailed them as they floated down in this pompous array, suspected that they were victims adorned for the sacrifice, and that so speedy and so dark a fate awaited this brilliant armament.

Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed round the coast of Norway, endeavouring to rendezvous his little fleet at the port of Wardhuys, in Finmark. He was attacked, however, with "flawes of wind and terrible whirlwinds," and sought in vain to reach the land, which he found "lay not as the globe made mention." Thus bewildered, on this dark and stormy sea, and encompassed with danger in every form, he continued yet to press towards his destination. In a few days he descried land, but of a dreary and desolate aspect, either Spitzbergen, or, as some think, more probably Nova Zembla. In either case it could present only one aspect; rocks rising over rocks, with the clouds wrapt around their icy pinnacles; while no sound could be wafted over the waves, but the crash of its falling ice and the hungry roar of its monsters. Willoughby, reluctant to renounce the brilliant hopes with which he had departed, continued to struggle onward; but, instead of obtaining any view of the golden

shores of India and Cathay, he found himself plunging deeper and deeper into the regions of perpetual winter. As his ships began to suffer severely, he deemed it necessary to turn back, and seek for a harbour in which they might winter in safety. After beating about for some time on these unknown and desolate shores, they at length found one at the mouth of the river of Arzina, on the eastern coast of Lapland. It was now only September, but it was here the depth of winter,—intense frost, and tempests of snow driving through the air; while the sun, appearing only for a short period at mid-day, on the edge of the horizon, announced the speedy closing in of the polar night. They were now in the situation described by the poet:

> Miserable they
> Who here, entangled in the gathering ice,
> Take their last look of the descending sun,
> While full of fate, and fierce with tenfold frost,
> The long, long night, incumbent o'er their heads,
> Falls horrible.

The journal proceeds no farther, and a veil hangs over the varied forms of famine and death which beset them in their last extremity. Some Russian fishermen, who were sailing this way in the following year, found the ships, with all their gallant crews lifeless. By a will found on board, it appeared that Sir Hugh still survived in January, but probably then felt his end approaching.

Chancellor, who commanded one of the vessels of this expedition, was more fortunate. Being separated from the rest, he kept close along the coast, and ar-

rived in the White Sea. An intercourse was opened with Russia, and the merchant-adventurers were henceforth known under the title of Muscovy merchants. But the ardour of the nation for a north-east passage was severely chilled; and one inefficient expedition sent many years after by the Muscovy merchants, under Pet and Jackman, formed the termination of their efforts in that direction. The Dutch East India Company sent three expeditions, one of which wintered in Nova Zembla, enduring the most severe hardships, but all without any result.

When the enterprise of the nation, after being paralyzed under the gloomy reign of Mary, had been fully rekindled, all eyes were turned to the west.

The first English mariner who adventured in search of a north-western passage was Captain, afterwards Sir Martin Frobisher. Forster and others give Queen Elizabeth the merit of fitting him out; but, by the narrative of Best, it is very clear that that princess acted here with all her usual economy. It was in Frobisher's own mind that the idea arose of achieving that which appeared to him "the only great thing that was yet left undone in the world." Having no adequate means, however, to "set forward" the undertaking, he spent fifteen years in conference with his friends, and in soliciting aid from the merchants; but, finding that nothing would make them move but "sure, certaine, and present gaines," he repaired to court, "where all good causes have their chief maintenance," and there laid open to "many great estates and learned men" the projects which he had formed. Here he found a more favourable hearing. Supported

by a patriotic nobleman, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, he collected, by slow degrees, the means of equipping two barks of twenty-five tons, and a pinnace of ten tons, and with this slender armament prepared to brave the tempests of the northern deep. The queen, if she did not contribute her money, gave at least her full countenance and favour to the undertaking.

Frobisher set sail on the 8th June from Deptford, and, on passing the court (at Greenwich,) fired a salute, and "made the best show we could. Her majestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand to us out at the window." Mr Secretary Woolly (Walsingham) also came on board, gave strict charges to the crew to obey their commander, and wished them happy success. On the 26th, they passed Foula, the most remote of the Shetland islands, and found themselves launched in the abysses of the northern deep. Steering a course west by north, on the 11th July they had sight of the land of Friesland, bearing west north-west, "rising like pinnacles of steeples, and all covered with snow." This name of Friesland, which Frobisher here copies from Zero, is applied by him to the southern extremity of Greenland. After several vain attempts to land, he steered out into the open sea, in order to avoid the dangers with which the coast was beset. On the 21st they had sight of a great drift of ice, seeming a firm land; and again on the 6th of a land of ice. On the morning of the 28th a thick fog having cleared up, they saw before them an extended coast, which they concluded to be that of Labrador. They sailed about for se-

veral days, unable to approach on account of the continuous icy barriers. On the 1st August they saw a large ice-island, and approached within two cables' length of it; but next day "that great island of ice fell the one part from another, making a noise as if a great clift had fallen into the sea." After sailing for several days, they came to an island, where the captain rowed on shore, with a boat and eight men, to ascertain if there were any inhabitants. They soon saw seven boats, the crews of which at first showed a good deal of shyness; but the captain, by holding up white cloths, and making presents of toys, at length induced the whole party to come on board, "being nineteen persons, and they spake, but we understood them not. They be like unto Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flat noses, and tawnie in colour." Men and women were clothed in seals' skins, and the boats made of the same materials, "with a keele of wood within the skin." Frobisher sailed next day to the east side of the island, which was found also well-peopled, and, by means of a bell and a knife, enticed one of the people on board; but, not wishing to keep him, ordered five of his men to land him at the extremity of a rock. The wilfulness of the sailors was such, that they carried him to the main body of his countrymen, when they were themselves taken, and never allowed to return. Frobisher does not seem to have ventured on any very mighty exertions for the recovery of these lost members of his crew. He, however, approached the shore, fired guns, and sounded trumpets; but no result following, he plied out of the bay, calling it the Five Men's Sound. Next

day he approached the spot, and saw fourteen boats, but without being able to penetrate in any degree the fearful mystery in which the fate of his countrymen was involved. However, by ringing a bell, the English attracted one of the natives, and, in giving him the bell, they took him and carried him to England. His resistance was vigorous; but Frobisher seized and "plucked him with maine force, boate and all, out of the sea. Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain, he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth, notwithstanding he died not thereof." This "strange infidele, whose like was never seen," lived till they came to England, when he died, it is said, of a cold!

The season being now advanced, without any appearance of reaching the South Sea, or the shores of India, Frobisher judged it expedient to direct his sails homewards. He again passed Friesland; but could not approach, "on account of the monstrous ice which lay upon it." After sailing along the coast of Iceland, and by the Orkneys, he arrived in London on the 2d of October.

It had been a primary object with Frobisher's crews to bring home something which might serve as a specimen of the hitherto unknown region discovered by them. "Some brought floweres, some greene grasse;" and one of the sailors having found a large mass of stone, black as a coal, with a metallic glitter, Frobisher, in the absence of any thing better, took it on board. When he came home, all his acquaintances urged him for something out of *Meta Incognita*, as the newly-discovered country had been called; upon

which he broke the large stone in pieces, and made a distribution of it among his friends. It chanced that a gentlewoman, to whom a portion had been thus gifted, let it fall into the fire; where, after having burned for some time, being taken out, "it glittered like a bright marqueset of gold" (pyrites aureus). Being carried to certain gold-finers of London, they declared "that it held gold, and promised great matters thereof," if it should be found in any abundance.

The discovery of this gold became now the foremost object, and facilitated wonderfully the equipment of a new expedition: the queen herself came forward with one of her "tall ships," the Ayde, of two hundred tons burden, and Frobisher, from other quarters, succeeded in equipping the Michael and the Gabriel, of about thirty tons each. He then waited upon the queen, who was at Lord Warwick's seat in Essex, and, having kissed her hand, took leave, "with her gracious countenance and comfortable words."

Frobisher set sail from Blackwall on the 25th May, 1577, and "with a merrie wind," on the 7th June arrived at the Orkneys. This seems to have been almost an unknown land; and when the English first appeared, the natives fled from their "poor cottages with shreikes and alarms," but were soon, "by gentle persuasions, reclaimed." Their mode of living was very rude, their food being oaten cakes and ewe-milk. "The goodman, wife, children, and other of the family, eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and their cattle on the other, very beastly and rudely in respect of civilitie." Having now proceeded into the great northern sea, they had, however, the con-

solation of enjoying perpetual day, by which they had constantly, if so disposed, "the fruition of their bookes, a thing of no small moment to such as wander in unknown seas, when both the winds and raging surges do pass their common course." They were surprised with the large quantity of drift-wood, sufficient to supply Iceland with fuel, and consisting chiefly of fir-trees, which were judged to be "by the fury of great floods rooted up." As they came within "the making of Friesland," they began to see great islands of ice, of about half a mile in compass, and rising thirty or forty fathoms above the sea. "Here, instead of odoriferous and fragrant smells of sweet gums, and pleasant notes of sweet birds, which other countries, in more temperate zones, do yield, we tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts, mixed with snow and hail, in the months of June and July. All along this coast ice lieth like a continual bulwark." They coasted along this land four days, without seeing any sign of habitation; yet little birds, which seemed to have bewildered themselves amid the thick fogs, came flying into the ships; whence they surmised that "the interior was more tolerable than the outward shore made signification." Mr Settle was much surprised to observe, that this ice was altogether of fresh water, and inferred that it must have been formed entirely upon land, "that the open sea freezeth not, and that there is no *Mare Glaciale* or frozen sea."

The expedition now sailed across to the coast of Labrador, and came to the large opening into Hudson's Bay, called Frobisher's Straits, and afterwards Lumley's Inlet, which they concluded to be the entrance

into the sea of Sur, and that the shore on one side was America, and on the other Asia. They found these straits, however, "shut up with a long mure of ice, which was a great cause of discomfort;" but Frobisher, who was provided for the purpose with two small pinnaces, left the barks to lie off and on in the open sea, and threaded his way through the narrow inlets between the ice and the land. His survey of the coast was satisfactory, and he found a considerable store of that black stone, once despised, but now become the primary object of search. Having reached a hill, they erected on the top a column, calling it Mount Warwick. On their return a number of the natives hailed them from the top of the hill "with cries like the lowing of bulls." Frobisher answered with similar sounds, and with that of trumpets; at which they seemed greatly to rejoice, skipping, dancing, and laughing for joy. They exchanged, but in a very cautious manner, their commodities for pins, points, and other trifles. They invited the English up into the country, and the English them into the ships; but "neither part admitted or trusted the other's courtesie." Yet the natives followed to the boats, and seemed to part with regret. Frobisher, with his master, then followed, and, having found two of them apart, seized and began to drag them along, hoping, "by toys, apparell, and all arguments of courtesie," to conciliate them and their tribe. The ground, however, being uneven and covered with ice, their feet slipped, and they lost hold of their prizes, who instantly ran, and, having caught hold of their bows and arrows, which were hid behind a rock, com-

menced a furious attack, when Frobisher and the master instantly took to their heels, and ran full speed to the boats. This precipitate flight of these great captains, before two miserable Esquimaux, does not savour altogether of that lofty heroism which we should be inclined to ascribe to them. Frobisher reached the boats with an arrow sticking in his leg. The crew, thinking there must have been a numerous body of pursuers to inspire such terror, called to arms, and ran to the rescue; but as soon as the enemy heard a shot fired, they ran off full speed; however, Nicholas Conger, a servant of my Lord Warwick, and a good wrestler, overtook one of them, threw him on the ground, and dragged him into the boats.

While these things were passing on shore, the ships without had to abide a cruel tempest among the thickest of the islands of ice, which were "so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had been of force sufficient to have shivered our barks into small portions." Some, in fact, "scraped" them; and the range of open sea was so limited, while the gale was so violent, that, to avoid striking, they were obliged to tack fourteen times in four hours; however, "God being their best steersman," and Charles Jackman and Andrew Dyer, master's mates, being very expert mariners, while Providence furnished "clear nights without darkness," they escaped these dangers, which appeared to them more terrible in the recollection than at the moment, when every hand was called upon to haul ropes, and look out for what was a-head of the ship.

After the vessels had been detained some time at

the mouth of the straits, the west winds at length dispersed the ice, and opened a large entrance. When they were fairly enclosed between the opposite lands, Frobisher, with about seventy of his men, made a formal landing on the southern shore, supposed to be America, with ensigns displayed, and marched to the top of several hills, the ascent of which was rendered difficult by their steepness and the ice. Here special care was taken that "they should all with one voice, kneeling on their knees, thank God for their safe arrival in this country, beseeching his Divine Majesty to preserve the queene, and bring them back in safety to their native country." They discovered no sign of people or habitation, and being fatigued by these "unwieldy ways," were glad to regain the boats. Some spirited adventurers proposed to march thirty miles inland, and see what they could find; but Frobisher did not think his time allowed of such an enterprise. He, therefore, landed on the northern coast, supposed to be Asia, and directed all his efforts to the discovery of a store of the black stone, esteemed so precious. He discovered accordingly a very rich deposit, and took on board twenty tons of it; but here so violent a commotion took place among the ice-islands, that they narrowly escaped being squeezed to pieces, and were obliged to throw out the greater part of this precious store. As they sailed along the shore they found the bones of a man, and tauntingly asked their captive, whether his countrymen had not killed and eaten him, and picked the flesh from the bones; but he indignantly, by signs, repelled the charge, and intimated, that the man had been devoured by wolves or other savage

beasts. This personage also taught them the use of various objects, which they found on the shore, as sledges, kettles of fish-skin, and knives of bone. As they inquired the use of a bridle of singular construction, he caught hold of one of their dogs, "and hampered him handsomely therein, as we do our horses, and, with a whip in his hand, he taught the dog to draw in a sled, as we do horses in a coach."

The expedition had now reached thirty leagues from the mouth of the straits, to a small island which, with the sound enclosed by it, they named after "that right honourable and virtuous lady, Anne Countess of Warwick." Here they beheld, to their great marvel, some of the "poore caves" which serve the natives for their winter-dwellings, and of which their description nearly resembles that lately given by Captain Parry. "They are made two fadome under ground, like to an oven, being joined fast one to another, having holes like to a foxe or coney herry, to keepe and come together. They are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold winds, having their door and entrance ever open towards the south. They build with whalebones for lack of timber, which, bending one over another, are handsomely composted in the top together, and are covered with seales' skins. They have only one room, having one half of the floor raised with broad stones a foot higher than the other, whereon strawing moss, they make their nests to sleep in." In some of the tents on this shore, from which the natives fled on their approach, they discovered many strange things, dead carcasses and flesh of they knew not what ani-

mals; but the objects which struck them with wonder and horror were an English doublet pierced with many holes, three shoes for contrary feet, a shirt, and a girdle,—apparel which too evidently belonged to their five countrymen lost the preceding year. A chase was instantly commenced, though said to have been rather in the hope of recovering than of revenging them. Charles Jackman, with a large party, was sent inland to take the natives on one side, while the captain, with his boats, was ready on the coast to receive them. Jackman sought for some time in vain; but at length, in a deep valley by the sea-side, he discovered some tents, the dwellers of which, to the number of sixteen or eighteen, hurried on board their boats, and pushed out to sea. The English fired their pieces, which served as a signal to their countrymen in the boats, who rowed rapidly to the spot, and began the attack. The unfortunate Esquimaux, enclosed on all sides, ran ashore on a point of land, where, being closely pursued, they defended themselves in the most desperate manner. They took up the arrows shot by the English, and even plucked them out of their bodies, returned them, "and maintained their cause until both weapons and life fayled them." Some, severely wounded, refused the offered and promised mercy, and cast themselves headlong from the rocks into the sea. The English succeeded in taking only two women and a child. One of the ladies was of an ugliness so singular and appalling as to make the sailors not only conclude with certainty that she was a witch, but even suspect her to be the great enemy of mankind in disguise. It was deter-

mined to ascertain this point by an examination of the structure of the lower extremities: "she had her buskins pulled off to see if she were cloven-footed." That grand distinctive character being found wanting, the sailors were content with dismissing her, in order that their eyes might no longer be wounded with the view of her visage. The other young woman being mistaken for a man, had been shot at, and the child whom she carried wounded. They undertook to heal the wound; but the woman with her tongue licked off all the salves applied to it, till, by continual licking, she had effected a cure. The introduction of this new captive to the man formerly taken produced a scene "more worth beholding than can well be expressed. At first they held a deep silence, as through grief and disdain; the woman even turned away and began to sing; at length the man broke up the silence first, and with stern and stayed countenance began to tell a long solemn tale, whereunto she being grown into more familiar acquaintance by speech, the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other." During the whole voyage she killed and dressed the dogs, and did all household offices for him; yet they did not live as man and wife, and observed the strictest decorum in all their proceedings. The man was closely examined, whether the five Englishmen had been killed and eaten by his countrymen; but this fact he positively denied. He was shown a picture of his countryman carried to England the preceding year, "when he was upon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding advisedly the same with silence a good while, at length began to question with him as with

his companion; and, finding him dumb, seemed to suspect him as one disdainful, and would have grown into choler, until at last, by feeling and handling, he found the deceit; and then, with great noise and cries, ceased not wondering, thinking that we could make men live or die at our pleasure."

Frobisher at length came into speech with the natives at the point where he had lost his men, whom they promised to bring back in three days. In three days accordingly there appeared, on the top of a hill, three men with a white flag formed of bladders; but the English in advancing descried great numbers well-armed lying hidden behind the rocks. Signs were made, that they must approach unarmed and under less dubious guise; but they only set up new enticements, among which was "a trim bait of raw meate." They even brought a lame man, and laid him down as an easy prey. The English were not so deceived, but discharged a gun at the cripple, who was instantly cured, and ran off full speed. The natives then appeared a hundred strong, and let fly their arrows, but without reaching the English, who, however, were now fain to retire, giving up all hopes of recovering their lost comrades. The only object was to regain their home, which they reached at different points, the Ayde at Padstow, the Gabriel at Bristol, and the Michael at Yarmouth.

Although nothing of importance had been effected in this voyage, the country continued still full of hope, both as to the "matter of the gold," and the passage to Catay. Frobisher was specially commended by the queen, who also gave such gratifying commendations to the other officers, that they "have since

spared neither labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter to a prosperous ende." Special commissioners were appointed, "men of great judgment, art, and skill, to look thoroughly into the matter." They reported that both the ice and the passage to Catay were matters of importance, and that they would be much advanced by a colony of chosen soldiers and discreet men sent to Meta Incognita, (the somewhat fantastic name now given, but which has not adhered to the newly-discovered coast). That they might spend the winter in safety and comfort, a strong fort or house of timber, "cunningly devised by a notable learned man," was framed and put on board the vessel. To this "great adventure and notable exploit many well-minded and forward-going gentlemen" readily presented themselves as volunteers. The whole number of colonists amounted to a hundred, of whom forty were mariners, thirty miners, and thirty soldiers. The entire expedition was on a much grander scale than before, consisting of fifteen sail of good ships, of which twelve were to return laden with the imaginary gold, and the other three to remain with the colony. The queen, besides gifts and promises, bestowed on Frobisher a chain of gold, and the other fourteen captains kissed her hand before their departure.

This voyage, set forth with such pomp and on so great a scale, was the most unfortunate of all the three. When they reached the Queen's Foreland at the mouth of the straits, they found them "frozen over from one side to the other, as it were with many walls, mountains, and bulwarks of ice, which choked up the passage, and denied us entrance." This

appeared to be owing to the south and south-easterly winds, which had both brought them earlier to this quarter, and driven in the numerous icebergs upon the straits; the navigation through which was rendered truly dangerous by the continual motion of those huge bodies, two of which would often allow one ship to pass, and then close in upon the one behind. Two vessels, the Judith and the Michael, were separated from the rest, and not heard of for a long time after. The Dennis, a vessel of a hundred tons, on board of which there was a portion of the house, received such a blow that it sunk instantly, though the crew, having given the alarm by firing, were saved by the other ships. All the vessels were forced "to stemme and strike great rocks of ice, and as it were make way through mighty mountains." Their situation soon became much more serious. After they had passed through a great quantity of ice, having much behind and more before, a sudden and dreadful tempest blew in from the ocean, "bringing all the ice a sea-boorde of us upon our backs, and rendering it impossible to recover sea-roome." Thus environed with danger, "sundry men with sundry devises sought the best way to save themselves." Some moored upon a great iceberg, "and rode under the lee thereof; others, finding themselves shut in and compassed amongst an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice, were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and hung over the sides of the vessels pieces of cables, masts, planks, and such like, to defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice."

The narrator, however, considers as conducing to the everlasting renown of our nation, the manner in which "the painful mariners and poor miners" met the brunt of these great and extreme dangers. The gallant fleet and miserable men, during the whole night and part of next day, continued struggling without hope of escape. Four, who were outside of the rest, contrived, amid continual danger of being squeezed to pieces, to work out into the open sea. Here, "devoutly kneeling about their main-mast, they gave unto God humble thanks for themselves, and highly besought him for their friends' deliverance." In fact, "it pleased God with his eyes of mercy to look down from heaven;" and next day they were favoured with a west south-west wind, which soon dispersed the ice, gave them ample sea-room, and the comfort of again joining company.

The crews now busied themselves in setting up the masts, mending the sails, and stopping the leaks of their shattered vessels. No sooner was this effected, than the indefatigable Frobisher again "cast about towards the inward," and they had sight of land, but so involved in dark mists and the thick snow which fell in this northern midsummer, that doubts arose whether it was or was not the north foreland, or entrance into Frobisher's Straits. They pushed on, however, and some even imagined they saw Mount Warwick; but this would have placed them quite out of their reckoning. At length Christopher Hall, chief pilot, stood up, and declared, in hearing of the whole fleet, that he had never seen this coast before. Frobisher, it is suspected, soon

began himself to perceive that this was not "the old strait;" however he dissembled and pushed on; curious apparently to see whither it would lead. He found it a more fruitful coast, more verdant, and stocked with a greater variety of birds and fowls, than that before visited. The people were more numerous, had large boats capable of holding twenty persons, and carried on trade in a very friendly manner. At length it was necessary to come out of this mistaken strait; but in their return they were so involved in dark fogs and currents, and beset by a labyrinth of rocks and islands, as to place it beyond the expectation of man that they should ever extricate themselves. However, "God lent us ever at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other;" and even at a time when all hope seemed over, and every man was recommending himself to death, "the mighty Maker of heaven did deliver us;" and they again reached the open sea. Here, in the end of July, they were overtaken by so violent a storm of snow, that "he who had five or six shifts of apparel had scarce one dry threade to his back;" while the sun, occasionally breaking forth, "produced such a breath of heate as if we were enclosed in some bath-stone or hot-house;" and these violent changes had a very injurious effect on their health. However, amid every obstacle, Frobisher pushed on in search of his old station, and where he saw the ice never so little open "he gat in at one gappe and out at another," till, with incredible pain and peril, he recovered his long-wished-for port. Captain Fenton of the Judith, however, became entangled for twenty days among ice, and

never was one day or hour without being beset with continual danger and fear of death. At length they became "cunning and wise to seek strange remedies for strange dangers." They used to fasten the vessel to a firm and broad mass of ice, "and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sails, when the wind forced forward the ship, the ship the ice, and one ice another, till at length they got sea-room, still amid sundry mountains and Alps of ice." The narrator asks his countrymen what they would think of men leaping and shooting on the surface of the sea, and rivers of fresh water running through the ocean a hundred miles from land; yet all this was fulfilled on these mighty mountains and fields of ice.

The vessels being now assembled in port, it was brought into deliberation, whether they could now attempt to form their winter-settlement. Of the house which they had brought out there remained only two sides, the east and the west, the remainder having either gone down as above stated, or been suspended in fragments by the sides of the ships to defend them against the ice, and thereby broken. There were not provisions also for a hundred men; but Captain Fenton boldly undertook to remain with sixty. Hereupon the carpenters and masons were called upon to say in what time they could put together a house on this smaller scale; but they could not undertake it in less than eight or nine weeks, while the expedition had only twenty-six days to remain.

Frobisher now consulted whether they should not attempt to distinguish this voyage, from which so

much was expected at home, by some farther discovery. The captains declared their readiness to undertake whatever their chief might devise; yet this appeared to them a thing very hard and almost impossible. They urged the dark mists and falling snows; the leakage of the drink, which reduced many of the crews to nothing but water; and the danger of a contrary wind shutting them in, when they must all perish. To proceed, therefore, was found "a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning home." This was accordingly resolved upon, and the vessels, though separated by a violent storm, all arrived in safety, some at one port and some at another. The Busse of Bridgewater, in being obliged to proceed northward through a channel in which it was involved, found itself in the great north sea (Baffin's Bay), which appeared to it with reason to afford the most favourable prospect of any of penetrating into the *Mal der Sur*. The only large lading of the golden stone was found by Captain Best of the Anne Frances, while separated from the rest of the fleet, on a small island, where he found as much as "might reasonably suffice all the gold-gluttons in the world;" for which reason he named it "Best's Blessing."

This third expedition of Frobisher was not followed up by any other,—a failure for which no cause is recorded. It may be presumed, that the dreadful tale of disaster which was brought home damped for a time the zeal of the nation. Of the black stone, which had inspired hopes so brilliant, and given the chief impulse to the fitting out of this large expedition, no

further mention is made; nor has it been noticed by any more recent navigator. A more careful analysis doubtless dispelled the empty visions with which it had filled the minds of the English public.

The spirit of discovery did not long slumber. In 1585, "certain honourable personages and worshipful merchants," both of London and of the west, determined to put down their adventures for another attempt at a north-west passage. Mr William Sanderson, merchant of London, "besides his travaile, which was not small, became the chief adventurer with his purse;" and he recommended Mr John Davis as a fit person to be the conductor of this hard enterprise. Davis was furnished with two vessels, the Sunshine and the Moonshine; but neither of these two great planets was of very ample dimensions, the Sun holding only 23 and the Moon 19 men. On the 7th of June they set sail from Dartmouth, and for six weeks remarked nothing but the vast number of fishes, among which were "great store of whales." On the 19th July they heard "a great whistling and bruffling of a tyde," after which they came into a very calm sea. "Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the sea, as if it had been the breach of some shore;" yet when the Moonshine sounded, it could not find ground in three hundred fathoms. Its boat was immediately sent, with strict injunctions to fire a musket at every glass of sand, so as to insure the ship of its safety. The crew soon found themselves encircled by islands of ice; on mounting which they discovered that all the roaring which they heard arose from "the rowling of this ice." Next day the mists dispersing, showed them the land,

which was "the most deformed, rocky, and mountainous land that ever we saw. It appeared in form of a sugar-loaf, standing to our sight above the clouds; for that it did show over the fogge like a white list in the sky, the tops altogether covered with snow, the shore beset with ice, making such irksome noise, that our captain called it the Land of Desolation." They observed, however, the phenomenon of drift-wood floating along the coast; among which was one tree fifty feet long, having the root stilladhering to it.

On the 25th July, Davis left this dreary land, and directed his course north-west, "hoping in God's mercy to find our desired passage." In four days he came in sight of new land, still to the eastward, in 64° 15′ (a continuation of West Greenland). He found it to contain many fair sounds and great inlets, insomuch that he judged it to consist of a great number of contiguous islands. The English landed, and, having seen some traces of inhabitants, mounted a rock, where they were descried by the natives, who raised a lamentable noise, with great outcries; "we hearing them, thought it had been the howling of wolves." Hereupon the English uttered loud sounds, at once inviting the savages and advertising their countrymen on board of their situation. Several of the company made haste to the spot well-armed, and with a band of musicians; thus alike prepared, "either by force to rescue us, or with courtesy to allure the people." As this last was the primary object, the minstrels began to play, and the seamen to dance, with signs of friendship. This induced ten canoes to approach, and the people spoke "very hol-

low through the throat," but in words not intelligible. At length one of them lifted his hand to the sun, and forcibly struck his breast, repeating this gesture many times; and "when John Ellis of the Moonshine, appointed by policy to gain their friendship, had several times done the same after their order," their confidence was gained. Next day thirty-seven canoes appeared, and they were soon on the most intimate footing with the English, to whom they readily parted with their canoes, even the clothes from their backs, composed of seals'-skins and birds'-skins, with the feathers on their buskins of fine wool, their hose-gloves of leather, well-dressed and compacted together. "They appeared very tractable people, void of craft and double-dealing, and easy to be brought to any civility and good order." On seeing the value set by the English on furs, they offered, in less than a month, to procure an ample supply; but Davis, finding a favourable gale, set sail from this friendly shore. He steered directly across the sea or broad strait which bears his name, and came in view of the coast of Cumberland Island. He named different parts of it Mount Raleigh, Exeter Sound, and Cape Walsingham; while the most southern point was called the Cape of God's Mercy. They had several encounters with the white bear; and a large band of dogs approached in peaceful guise; but the English, thinking they came to prey upon them, fired and killed two. Various circumstances encouraged Davis to hope for a passage; the numerous sounds and inlets, the currents which came through them, the ebb and flow coming apparently from various quarters. The season,

however, was now so late, that he was obliged to return to England.

The accounts brought by Davis appeared on the whole so favourable, that the adventurers hesitated not to send him out next year with a larger equipment. To the Sunshine and the Moonshine were now added the Mermaid of 120 tons and a small pinnace. Nothing remarkable occurred till they came to the former coast, where their old friends soon recognised them, and "hung about the boat with such comfortable joy as would require a long discourse to be uttered." Davis, on seeing their friendly disposition, landed and displayed twenty knives; upon which they leapt out of their canoes, and embraced him and his company with many signs of hearty welcome. He presented to each of them a knife, refusing any return. A familiar intercourse thus commenced, and sometimes a hundred canoes would crowd round the English, bringing various species of skins, fishes, and birds. Several excursions were made into the interior of the country, and some extensive plains discovered, like the moors of England. The natives accompanied them in these excursions, and gave them all the aid they could in mounting and descending the rocks. Davis caused trials to be made at leaping and wrestling. The English decidedly overleaped them; but when it came to wrestling, they showed themselves strong and skilful, and cast some that were accounted good wrestlers. These people are described as "of good stature, well in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, small visages, and small eyes, wide mouthes, the most part unbearded, great lips, and

close-toothed." Some bad qualities, however, began gradually to transpire. They made great use of witchcraft and incantation, "though with little effect, thanks be to God." Their chief experiment of this nature was by taking a round stick, thrusting it into a hole in a board, then forcibly agitating it, "in the fashion of a turner with a piece of leather," with which the magician produced a fire, into which, with many words and strange gestures, he put divers things; he then endeavoured to induce Davis to go into the smoke; but Davis caused one of his sailors to put out the fire, and throw it into the sea, "to show his contempt of their sorcery." By and by, moreover, they were found to be "marvellous thievish, beginning, through our lenitie, to show their vile nature;" they cut the cables, cut the Moonlight's boat from her stern, the cloth where it lay to dry, and seized every article of iron they could; whereat the master and crew being sorely grieved, called upon Davis "to dissolve this new friendship." Davis agreed accordingly to fire first a caliver, and then a falcon, "which did sore amaze them, and they fled;" yet in ten hours they came back, and "we again fell into a great league." All their intimacy was now renewed; "but, seeing iron, they could in nowise forbear stealing;" yet the good-natured captain only laughed, and bid his men look carefully after their own goods, "supposing it to be very hard, in so short time, to make them know their evils." Davis now attempted to penetrate and take a view of the land; but "the mountains were so many and so mighty, that his purpose prevailed not." He then

attempted to ascend a large river, which proved, however, to be only a creek, and the land, not as supposed, an unbroken continent, but "huge, waste, and desert isles, with mighty sounds and inlets passing between sea and sea." He was also astonished by the view of a water-spout,—an object new to him, and described as "a mighty whirlwind taking up the water in very great quantity, furiously mounting it into the air." On his arrival at the ships, the people opened a fearful budget of the sins of the Esquimaux, all which they ascribed to his "lenitie and friendly using." They had stolen an anchor, cut a cable, cut away boats, and "now, since your departure, with slings they spare us not, with stones of half a pounde weight; and will you still endure these things?" Davis bid them be content, and all should be well. Instead of any rigorous measure, he called the natives on board, presented them with bracelets, and used them with much courtesy; but the sun was no sooner down, than "they began to practise their devilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonlight." Human patience, even the most enduring, has its bounds. "I changed my courtesie and grew to hatred." Several shots were discharged upon the Esquimaux; but they rowed off so quickly that it was to little purpose. However, next day, when five approached in their usual manner, beating their breasts, and crying, *Yliaout*, one, deemed the chief ringleader of mischief, was allured on board, and, the wind becoming favourable, he was carried off along with the ships. He at first made many doleful signals to his brethren in the boats, but after-

wards became a pleasant companion, and was very joyful at receiving a suit of good English frieze.

On the 17th July they fell in with a large mass of apparent land, with bays and capes, and like "high cliffe land;" but, on sending their pinnace, learned, with horror and amazement, that it was entirely ice,—a thing so incredible that he omits to speak any further thereof. He coasted, however, for several days along this formidable mass of ice, which proved a fixed bar to his progress. The men's strength began to sink, and, in a discreet and orderly, but very solemn manner, they represented that success was now hopeless, that he ought to regard his own life and theirs, and not, through any over-boldness, "leave their widows and fatherless children to give him bitter curses." Davis took the matter into serious consideration, and was much inclined "to regard their estates;" but considered "the excellency of the business, and that it would grow to his great disgrace," if, through him, discredit should be thrown upon it while there remained a hope of success. He, therefore, sought counsel from God, by whom he was inspired with a design, which he hoped should be "to the contentation of every Christian minde." He left behind the Mermaid, his largest vessel, as not being sufficiently "convenient and nimble," and, in the Moonlight alone, with the boldest part of his crew, determined to push forward in search of the desired passage. He steered to the south-east, and came to a land which, however, appeared to be nothing but islands; but these supposed islands were probably only the coasts bordering on the numerous

sounds and inlets leading into Hudson's Bay. He did not enter them, but pushed southwards till he came to a continuous mass of continent, which was Labrador. It was found covered with extensive forests of pine and birch, the sea replenished with cod, and the air filled with numberless seafowl. The inhabitants showed a ferocious spirit, which does not agree with their general character. Five Englishmen having gone ashore, were assailed with a cloud of arrows, by which two were killed and two severely wounded. They had offered neither speech nor parley, but presently "executed their cursed fury." Forster, however, suspects, that these people must have been actuated by the recollection of some wrongs received from other Europeans. The sorrows of Davis were increased by tempest, which blew with such fury as threatened to drive the vessels on shore "among these cursed cannibals, for their prey." Being happily delivered, however, and favoured with a west north-west wind, he lost no time in making his way back to England.

Davis, in a letter to Mr William Sanderson, admits that the enterprise had not yet proved profitable to the adventurers; but he now urges, that, having had much experience of the north-west part of the world, he had satisfied himself that the passage must either be in one of four places or else not at all. That enterprising and substantial person joined in setting forth Davis a third time, with a smaller equipment of two barks and a pinnace. Soon after their departure, they had an alarm in the dark, that the pinnace had run away; but it proved only that the tiller of her helm was broken. This pinnace, which had been much

boasted of by the owners, was found to move through the sea like a cart drawn by oxen. However, it was reported that she would brook the sea, and they trusted that a hard beginning would make a good ending.

On the 14th June they came in sight of the high mountains of Greenland. The natives came, crying, in the usual manner, *Yliaont*, and offering skins. They soon, however, manifested their old thievish propensities. Davis had brought out the materials of a pinnace, which he now began putting together. The natives contrived to carry off two of the largest planks, solely with a view to the nails and other particles of iron inserted into them. Davis caused them to be fired at, aiming at their legs; but, making the planks a bulwark, they retained their legs entire, with which they carried off their bodies to a neighbouring island, where they left the planks, having first plucked all the iron out of them. This trouble was soon driven out of their minds by a more serious one. John Churchyard, the pilot, gave notice that the good ship in which they must all venture their lives had received three hundred strokes as she lay in the harbour. This gave rise to much disquietude, and even doubt whether it was possible to proceed; but Davis, to whom the matter was referred, determined "rather to end his life with credit, than to return with infamy and disgrace; and they all purposed to live and die together." They sailed then onwards to the north, touching at several points, and treating in a friendly manner with the natives. At length they reached the latitude of 72°, the highest which had been yet

attained by any navigator. Yet the sea was still perfectly open to the north and the west. They then left the coast and sailed due west, in which direction they continued for forty leagues without any sight of land. Davis seemed now on the point of discovering his hoped-for passage, or at least of solving the grand problem, whether it existed? But his career was suddenly arrested by "a mighty bank of ice." He endeavoured at first to "double it round to the northward;" but the wind in that direction was opposite, and he was obliged to coast it southwards, which he continued to do for successive days, vainly hoping to find a point at which it could be rounded, and its western side reached. He determined, therefore, "to lye off for some days, hoping that the ice continually beating upon the mass, and the sun with the extreme force of heat always shining upon it, would make quick despatch." When he returned to the coast, through some error of reckoning he found himself on Cumberland Island, near the point which he had formerly named Mount Raleigh. The season being now advanced, he confined all his efforts to the discovery of an open sea to the south. He passed Frobisher's Straits, to which he gave the name of Lumley's Inlet, and afterwards a broad gulf, the same subsequently entered by Hudson, but without attempting to penetrate either of these openings; and finding himself on the coast of Labrador, and the season far advanced, he sailed for England.

Davis on his arrival immediately wrote to his constant friend, Mr Sanderson, boasting, that he had brought the passage to a much more promising point

than at any preceding period. In 72° he had found an open sea, and forty leagues between land and land. Men's minds, however, had taken a turn unfavourable to all farther search. They said, "Davis hath been three times employed; why hath he not discovered the passage?" The death of Secretary Walsingham, the steady promoter of maritime discovery, was a severe check on every such project; and the grand event of the Spanish armada, which took place in the following year, turned all men's views in another direction. Mr Sanderson, however, continuing his steady friendship, caused a chart of Davis's discoveries to be engraved at considerable expense by Molyneux, which is said to be still preserved in the library of the Middle Temple.

This last voyage of Davis was almost immediately followed by a reported one by Laurent Ferrer Maldonado, a Spanish navigator. Maldonado was well known in that age as an eminent and enterprising mariner, and deeply skilled in all the sciences connected with the maritime art. Yet all these merits have not deterred modern inquirers from ranking this narrative with undisputed and scandalous forgeries. Its first aspect is, no doubt, somewhat equivocal. Maldonado describes himself as having first passed through the whole of the Strait of Labrador, or Davis's Strait, till he reached the latitude of 75°. He then navigated to the south-west till he came to the Strait of Anian, which separated America from Asia. After passing through this strait, he came to the wide expanse of the South Sea, with the two opposite coasts of America and Asia diverging widely

from each other. He followed the coast of America till he came to lat. 55°, when he pushed across to that of Asia, which appeared rugged and mountainous. He then retraced his steps, following a north-east and northerly course, till he again arrived at the Strait of Anian.

Such is the outline of Maldonado's narrative, which, as implying that he really discovered the north-west passage, and found his way through the Atlantic into the Pacific, is doubtless to be at once rejected. But the question is, whether the incredible portions of the narrative are facts, or whether they are not rather suppositions founded upon facts, which, taken in themselves, are possible and credible? The first part of his voyage is through the Strait of Labrador as he calls it, under which he evidently comprehends both Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay, and in which he reached the latitude of 75°, which latitude he certainly might reach, if, as the narrative states, he arrived at its northern extremity. He then sailed south-west till he came to a strait in lat. 60°, which may be supposed to be Hudson's Strait. This was certainly a very circuitous route from Spain, although he reckons the whole as direct distance from that country; but he was beating about in an unknown sea, and along shores the form and direction of which had never been delineated. He then passes through the Strait of Anian, as he imagines; but the real fact is neither more nor less than that he passed through a strait; and he then concludes that the coast on one side must be America, and on the other Asia. This is a mere inference, and nothing more than Fro-

bisher had formerly made with regard to the strait bearing his name, and discovered by him many years before. Then Maldonado entered the South Sea, sailed a considerable space, first along the western coast of America, and then along the eastern coast of Asia. He labours as it were to shake his own credit by a pompous enumeration of positions on each of these shores, from which he pronounces himself to have been at no great distance: Cape Mendocino, Quivira, Cathay, Cambalu, and the country of the Great Khan. But all this, if narrowly looked into, amounts to nothing more than presumptions. The respective coasts being presumed to be those of Asia and America, he infers that he *must* have been on the way to these different places and kingdoms; but he does not pretend to have reached one of these or any other ascertained points, either on the eastern coast of Asia or the western of America. The real facts amount to no more than that he passed through a strait, entered a wide and open sea, sailed first along its western and then returned along its eastern coast. All this appears perfectly consistent with the supposition of the strait being Hudson's Strait and the sea Hudson's Bay: the latitudes, the distances, the directions, all agree. There is indeed a wild story of their having met a vessel of eight hundred tons burden, coming laden with the products of China and the east; but this, besides its own extravagance, is in such contradiction with the rest of the narrative, which represents Maldonado as the discoverer of the passage, that I have little doubt of its being a clumsy interpolation.

If we find room to acquit Maldonado of imposture, we must assign to him a considerable rank among the discoverers of the northern regions. He would have reached farther to the north than Davis, and nearly as far as Baffin, and have anticipated Hudson in the Straits and Bay, or rather Mediterranean Sea, which bear his name. It appears, both by a date and by an allusion to the discoveries of Quiros, that the narrative was not produced till 1609, twenty years after the voyage was performed; but we seem scarcely authorised to pronounce this an anachronism. It appears as a report which the king and council had called upon Maldonado to make, apparently with reference to some special effort projected in the course of northern discovery. If such was the case, he might be called upon to rehearse his experience, though at a considerable distance of time after the voyage had been performed.

The spirit of discovery, which had slumbered after the failure of Davis, was not long of reviving among the British merchants. Spirited attempts to reach India by the Cape were made under Candish and Lancaster; but this course was beset with dangers which even the best seamen had not yet learned how to avoid; and Lancaster, after an unfortunate passage, was supposed to have written home, expressing his conviction that the best route was still by the north-west. It was not difficult to rouse the zeal of the English merchants, especially of the Muscovy and Levant Companies, the most wealthy and enterprising of the commercial bodies in that age. They fitted

out two "fly-boats," the Discovery and the God Speed, of 70 and 60 tons, and placed them under the command of Captain George Weymouth, assisted by a great traveller and learned minister, Mr John Cartwright. Weymouth set sail on the 2d of May, and in the beginning of June was among the Orkney Islands, through which he was piloted by one of the fishermen. On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, he came in view of the southern part of Greenland, whence bearing north-west, and then west, on the 28th he came in view of the land of America. He descried an eminence, which appeared to him to be Warwick's Foreland, and round which were several hills and islands, all white with snow, and scarcely to be distinguished from islands of ice. Here Weymouth encountered several heavy gales, and was involved among large banks and islands of ice, on one of which he had nearly struck, having approached almost close to it amid the fog. To avoid these dangers he was obliged to stand out to sea. He had again, however, approached the coast, in lat. 63°, when so violent a wind arose from the north-east, that he had great difficulty in clearing both the ice and the land. The wind continued to blow with violence, and the fleet was involved in a thick fog, from amid which they heard a great noise "as though it had been the breach of some shore," and on examining closely, found it to be "the noise of a great quantity of ice, which was very loathsome to be heard." The fog becoming so thick that they could not see two ships' length, orders were given to take down some of the sails; but it was with no little dismay that they

found both the ropes and sails so hard frozen that they could scarcely be moved; "which did seem very strange unto us, being the chiefest time in summer." This was still more remarkable next day, the moisture continuing to freeze upon them; and thus not only was their course impeded, but a deep dependence seized the minds of the mariners. So strongly did it operate, that they formed a resolution to bear up the helm for England. Their first plan was to have seized the captain, as he lay asleep in his cabin; but having notice of their design, he succeeded in preventing it. The helm, however, was borne up, and the resolution of the men continuing unalterable, the captain called the leading persons before himself and Mr Cartwright the preacher, demanding of them the motive of this mutinous conduct. They delivered a long written explanation, stating it as a matter "builded upon reason, and not proceeding upon fear or cowardice." They represented, that to winter in this dreadful climate was not only most perilous, but quite useless, since they could not expect to unmoor their vessels till next May, by which time they could easily reach these latitudes from England. If, however, he chose to attempt any discovery between 57 and 60 degrees, they yielded their lives to encounter any danger. Weymouth found their determination so fixed, that he could not make head against it, though, having afterwards regained his authority, he made use of it to punish pretty severely the ring-leaders. He now spent the rest of the season in sailing along the coast of Labrador, looking into the different bays and inlets, particularly one in lat. 56°,

which appears to be that on which the Moravian settlement of Nain was afterwards formed, and from which he conceived hopes which were not fulfilled. In this run they met with several striking phenomena. Having approached a large island of ice, and the sea being calm, they sent their boats to bring off such a portion as might yield them a supply of fresh water. As they were labouring to break it off, "the island of ice gave a mighty cracke, two or three times, as though it had been a thunder-clappe, which was like to have sunk both our boats." "Farther to the south there rose up a great storm to the west, and presently the winde came out of that quarter with a whirle, and blew so extremely that we were forced always to run before the sea." The tempest continued for two days with increasing violence; "but when we were in our greatest extremities, the Lord delivered us, his unworthy servants." Having now obtained a fair wind, they took leave of the coast of America, and arrived at Dartmouth.

In 1605, the Muscovy merchants sent out *John Knight*, who had been employed along with Gotske Lindenau and James Hall, in several voyages to Greenland. This was a tragical expedition. Knight set sail on the 18th April, from Gravesend, and on the 12th May, from Margaret's Sound or Hope, in Orkney. Near the middle of next month he found himself involved among ice, the great and deep flakes of which were driving to the southward, while the small ice was carried before the wind, as it varied from point to point. After continuing for some time moored to one of the frozen masses, he attempted

with oars to work his way through them, but was soon "so compassed about and distressed, and so bruised between mighty islands of ice," that the crew expected every minute to be crushed in pieces. At length, on the 19th, they descried the land of America, rising like eight islands. On the 24th, in the morning, there blew so violent a gale from the north, and "such a suffe of the sea," with so much ice, that their rudder was driven from their stern, and they were forced to run into the bottom of a cove, where they found the ship half full of water. All hands were now at work to save clothes, furniture, and victuals, to stop the leaks, and to construct a shallop. At this critical moment the captain's narrative closes, and the pen is taken up by Brown, one of the seamen. Knight, it seems, set out in the boat, with his mate and a few of his best hands, to a small island, distant about a mile, in hopes of finding there a harbour, where the ship might be refitted. He landed with three companions, well-armed, and went over a hill, leaving Brown and another in the boat, desiring them to wait for him. They waited from ten in the morning till eleven at night. One then repeatedly sounded his trumpet, and another fired his musket; but all in vain,—the three never returned. The others came back with these blank and doleful tidings, "which did strike all our men into a great feare, to thinke in what extremity we were, because we did want our master and three of our best men, and our ship lay sunke." An armed expedition was prepared, to search for their lost captain and comrades; but it could not cross on account of the ice;

and they then, perhaps somewhat too soon, gave up hopes, and began to consider only of their own deliverance. Indeed the most fatal conclusion became soon but too probable. At one in the morning, while it poured torrents of rain, the steward and boatswain, being on watch, saw a great body of men advancing, who, as soon as they perceived the boatswain, discharged a cloud of arrows. The alarm was immediately given, and before those sleeping in the tent could be awakened and mustered, the shallop was occupied and filled by about fifty savages. The crew could produce only eight men and a large dog; yet they determined rather to die attacking their savage enemy, than to be attacked by them. They advanced therefore, placing the dog in front, and fired; upon which the enemy leaped out of the shallop, and hastened away in their boats. They were not pursued, but having stuck among the ice, were fired at repeatedly, and heard "crying very sore." They are described in the usual manner, as small, tawny, and flat-nosed; to which it is added, of course without any authority, that they are eaters of men.

The crew, after this alarm, dreading a fresh attack by superior numbers, employed themselves all day in carrying every thing on board the crazy vessels. They had next to cut through the ice, which did not allow a space for either ship or boat to ride in. At length "it pleased God that we got her out;" but having nothing in the nature of a rudder, they were obliged to row her laboriously amid the floating and driving ice, with only a faint hope of regaining their native land. The carpenter, however, set to work,

and with two pick-axes, and by taking the iron bands of the chests, contrived to make up something like a rudder, affording them "some steerage, though it was but bad." The water rushed in so copiously, that the vessel was on the point of going down, if there was half an hour's cessation from perpetual pumping. It was necessary, therefore, carefully to visit every part in search of so serious a leak. They found many, but not the main one, which was at last discovered between the timbers, where it could not be fully stopped up; however, by an external application of oakum, it was much mitigated. They had still, however, hard rowing and pumping, when "they could scarcely stir, but that they must perforce." They contrived, however, to work their way to Newfoundland, where they were kindly received and aided by the fishing adventurers; and having repaired their crazy vessel, they reached in safety Dartmouth, whence they sent an account to London of the doleful issue of their voyage.

Hudson was the next adventurer, and was destined to outstrip all his predecessors in this daring career. Although all his efforts were directed to the north, and a northern passage to India, his early attempts were made in a different direction. His first aim was nothing less than to sail to the Pole, and reach India across that grand boundary of the globe. In fact, he discovered and surveyed Spitzbergen or East Greenland, and reached beyond the latitude of 80°, much higher than any former, and which has scarcely been passed by any subsequent navigator. His second voyage he directed to the discovery of a north-

east passage, but was unable to reach beyond Nova Zembla. The third, performed in the Dutch service, was only distinguished by the discovery of the coast of New York, and of the great river which bears his name. The fourth voyage, set forth by Sir John Worsenholme, Sir Dudley Digges, and some other gentlemen, was directed solely to the north-west passage. Hudson was furnished only with one vessel, of the very inadequate bulk of 55 tons. The Company appointed for him as an assistant, one Colburn, who, if we might believe Fox, was a more skilful seaman than Hudson; but that commander not brooking the restraint and divided authority which this appendage appeared to imply, sent him back from the mouth of the Thames, and undertook the entire command himself. Passing along the islands of Orkney and Shetland, he touched first at Iceland, thence steered across to the eastern coast of Greenland, which he found much encumbered with ice. Here he passed what he supposed, apparently by mistake, to be Frobisher's Straits, and turning Cape Farewell, "raised the Desolations" on the western coast of Greenland. From Cape Desolation he steered westward, and on the 4th July came in sight of land to the north, but immediately lost it again. It appears to have been part of the northern shore of the broad strait entering Hudson's Bay, and by steering to the south he came upon the opposite coast in about 59 degrees. He now steered constantly to the westward, naming successive points, Isles of God's Mercies, Magna Britannia, King James's Cape, Prince Henry's Cape, &c. They had to work their way

through much ice, with which at length they were so beset, that, if we may trust the somewhat doubtful testimony of Habakkuk Pricket, Hudson fell into despair and expected to perish. This made him take the imprudent step of referring it to the company, whether they would proceed, yea or nay. The proposal gave rise to much discussion, some being willing to give all they had, so that they were at home, while others were inclined to proceed on their discovery. "After many words to no purpose, to work we must on all hands, to get ourselves out." They took their course, however, north and north-west, thus continuing to push forward. They continued to beat backwards and forwards, coming always to land on each side, and being often almost enclosed with ice, yet ever working their way through. At length they came to a channel closely enclosed between two capes, which, after his chief patrons, Hudson called Digges and Worsenholme. Here two of the officers having gone ashore, found such an immense profusion of feathered game, that they besought the master to take up his permanent quarters here; but Hudson, bent on farther discovery, lent a deaf ear to this overture. He sent forward a boat, which returned with the animating intelligence, that beyond the southern point of land there was a large sea. The vessel instantly stood in between the two lands, entered the sea, and Hudson sailed alternately north and south, curiously investigating the shores on each side. At length November approached, the nights were long and cold, and the earth covered with snow. It was time to seek winter-quarters. By the first of No-

vember they found a convenient spot, where their ship might be hauled aground, and by the tenth they were frozen in. They seemed no longer to have any cause of fear, except that their provisions should fail. But movements were already at work, which were destined to bring this grand expedition to a dark and fatal issue.

The seeds of mutiny and dissension had been sown in this unhappy crew from the moment of their departure. Hudson had taken with him a young man of the name of Green, of good talents, both natural and acquired, and every way calculated to render himself serviceable; but, "for religion, he was cleane paper;" and his life had been so irregular and dissolute, that his friends had entirely cast him off. Hudson, however, hoping he might reform and render himself useful, took him on board, not as a seaman, but to live on board; and, after a long negotiation, his mother gave four pounds to furnish him with clothes. Green, by his talents and address, soon became "very upright and inward with the master," who was accused of being too slow in listening to the heavy complaints which were lodged against him from various quarters. Thus, when a violent dispute had arisen between him and the surgeon, which proceeded to blows, Hudson only observed, that "the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had." To the influence of Green was imputed in a great measure a violent quarrel with Ivet, the mate, whom, in the middle of the Straits, Hudson displaced, and appointed Robert Billet, or Bylot, in his stead. In a paper,

however, found in the desk of Thomas Widhouse, student of mathematics, it is stated that Ivet had been guilty of highly mutinous conduct, which several of the company "deposed to his face upon the Holy Bible;" that he had used various desponding expressions, which easily took effect upon the timid, putting them often into "a fray of extremity, by jesting at our master's hope to reach Bantam by Candlemas." Bylot, on the contrary, "always showed himself honestly respecting the good of the action." Thus, however, a party was formed decidedly hostile to Hudson, and ready to take the most violent part against him; and this spirit was hourly fomented during the hardships and extremities of the following winter. We lie under great disadvantages in having no narrative except that of Habakkuk Pricket, whose own conduct made him liable to much suspicion. He evidently shared to a great extent the hostile feelings prevalent against Hudson, who appears to have been somewhat of a rough seaman, subject to violent gusts of passion. From the first the state of their provision was such as to place the crew in an anxious and agitated state; for it was evident that, without an abundant supply of those precarious resources which the air and water afforded, they never could get through the winter, or reach England. As to fowls, for three months "Providence dealt mercifully with them;" and they killed upwards of a hundred dozen of white partridges, besides sundry other birds, "making all fish that came to the net." As spring approached, the birds disappeared, and the fishery became their only resource; which

was at first pretty ample, but afterwards they could not take above fourscore in the day,—" a poore relief to so many hungry bellies." They were now reduced to a fortnight's bread, which, to prevent the current complaints of partiality, Hudson distributed at once in equal portions to each man,—not a very happy measure, as many among this ill-conditioned crew knew not "how to govern it." The boatswain ate his whole fortnight's allowance of bread in one day; thus, amid this dreadful approaching famine, making himself sick of repletion. As they verged daily closer on the last extremity, the mutinous spirit, which had been continually fermenting, became always more active. The circumstance most fatal to Hudson was, that Green, his favourite, and the person of greatest abilities on board, placed himself at the head of his enemies. No sufficient reason appears to be given. Pricket mentions only about a gray coat which Green had purchased, and wished to borrow the money from Hudson, who fell into a passion, and applied to him "many words of disgrace, telling him, all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he?" when "the devil out of this so wrought with Green," that he became the most active agent in the dreadful plot which was now impending.

On the 21st June, while Pricket was lying in bed, Henry Green and another came down to him, and announced their determination to put out Hudson and all the sick part of the company into the shallop, and let them shift for themselves. Pricket represents himself as having adjured them not to commit

" so foule a thing in the face of God and man," and which would banish them for ever from their native country, their wives, and children. Ivet came next, who, because he was an ancient man, was expected to have shown some reason, but he was worse than Henry Green. Then came John Thomas and Michael Perce, " as birds of a feather, —but because they are not living, I will let them go." Much urgency, and even threats, are said to have been used with Pricket to remain at least passive, and he at length took an oath, for which he says he has been most unjustly condemned, the words being merely these:—" You shall sweare truth to God, your prince, and country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man;" but the avowed design of the administrators afforded an ample comment on this hypocritical verbiage, and rendered the proceeding more atrocious. The time was now come for fulfilling the deed of darkness. The carpenter, the most zealously attached to Hudson of any on board, was kept in talk by Green and another, while three of the conspirators went down to the cabin, seized Hudson, and began tying his hands behind his back. On his asking what they meant, they told him he should know when he was in the shallop. As they carried him out, Hudson called upon Pricket, who declares, " on his knees he besought them to remember themselves," but he was desired to be quiet, and go down to his cabin, which order he prudently obeyed. The carpenter, however, though allowed the option of remaining,

determined to share his master's fate. The sick and helpless were then, with a barbarity almost unexampled, driven out of their cabins into the shallop, some disputes only occurring as to the selection of the objects. When all, to the number of nine, were on board the shallop, it was cut away from the stern of the ship, which stood out to the open sea, Henry Green assuming the command. "Never," says Forster, "was the heart of man possessed with ingratitude of a blacker dye than that of the infamous Green. Hudson had rescued this wretch from perdition, had cherished him with the greatest kindness, and had but with too much weakness taken his part when guilty of the greatest misdemeanours; yet this outcast of society had the wickedness to stir up the rest of the crew against their commander, and to expose his benefactor and second father without clothes, arms, or provisions, in a small boat, to the open sea, in an inhospitable region, inhabited only by savage beasts, and men still more savage." No tidings, not even the faintest rumour, ever reached Europe respecting the fate of Hudson and his much-wronged and unfortunate companions; but the helpless and dismal condition in which they were left on this distant shore leaves room only for one inference, and of the most fatal nature. But dark as their fate might be, it could not exceed in horror that which a righteous Providence reserved for the authors of the crime.

The mutineers were not long of becoming sensible of the critical situation into which they had brought themselves, "beginning to talk among themselves,

that England was no safe place for them." Green, however, declared that he would keep the sea till he obtained a pardon under the king's hand and seal. Much dispute arose as to the direction in which they were to seek for deliverance; Bylot advising to steer along the northern shore, while Ivet and the greater part of the company would have looked to the south. At length they reached their main object, being the place called by them "the Cape where the fowls breed." Having opened a friendly intercourse with the savages, they spread on all sides to collect food, and Green was more confident than all the others, "God blinding him so," that he would see nothing of the imminent danger with which he was surrounded. While Pricket was sitting in the boat he suddenly saw a leg and arm beside him, and, on turning round, perceived a savage with uplifted knife, who struck three successive blows; but Pricket, though severely hurt, at length succeeded in seizing the knife, and wrenching it out of his hand. Meantime those on shore, attacked at every point, threw themselves down from the rocks, and came tumbling into the boat. Here, however, they did not find safety, the savages continuing to discharge their arrows without intermission. Green was the first who received a mortal wound, and his lifeless body was thrown overboard, seemingly with much unconcern. Three others, chief actors in the late bloody tragedy, died in the course of the two next days, among whom was William Wilson, "swearing and cursing in most fearful manner."

It was now left to the wounded and sickly remnant

of this unhappy crew to seek their way across the Atlantic. They caught about three hundred fowls, and, having burned off the feathers, salted them, and allowed half a fowl in the day to each man. This small allowance became always more and more dry, till they cast their eyes on the candles; with which Bennet the cook fried the fowls, and each of the crew received his weekly allowance "as a great dainty." Ivet, unable to subsist on such scanty fare, died,—the last of the ringleaders in the death of Hudson. At length the last fowl was in the steep-tub; the sailors could not stand at the helm, and did not care which end went forward, or whether the foresail or mainsail flew up to the top. The master was giving up all for lost, when "it pleased God in this extremity to give us sight of land." This was the north of Ireland, where they reached a harbour which is here called Berehaven. They complain that they by no means met with that hospitable reception of which they stood so much in need; and it was only by mortgaging their vessel that they procured a supply of food and a passage to Plymouth, from which they proceeded on to Gravesend. Notwithstanding the many doubts which floated in the minds of the public, it is remarkable, that no inquiry was made into the transactions of this voyage, which began with an important discovery, but closed with such a dreadful series of crime and calamity.

The important discovery of the Strait or rather Sea of Hudson, notwithstanding its tragical accompaniments, acted strongly on the national mind in England, and it was determined to lose no time in fol-

lowing it up: the same company which had planned the former voyage sent out next year, Captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Button, with two vessels named, like those of Cook, the Resolution and Discovery. It is hoped that instructions were given to search after Hudson; but, in the meagre narratives of the voyage which have been transmitted, no mention is made of this circumstance. Bylot and Habakkuk Pricket, notwithstanding the cloud which rested on them, were taken out, that Button might have the benefit of their experience. He proceeded direct to the Straits, and, on reaching their western opening, put together a pinnace, the materials of which he had brought from England. Then entering the sea, he sailed onward till he touched a point on the southern coast of Southampton Island, to which he gave the name of Carey's Swan's Nest. He continued his course directly to the westward, passing through such a wide expanse of open sea, as inspired the most sanguine hopes that the first land reached would be the eastern coast of Asia. Deep then was his disappointment, when, in lat. 60°, he fell in with a long range of coast running north and south, and barring his farther advance. He despondingly gave it the name of Hope Checked. Farther evils then assailed him. The arctic winter, with its accompaniments, thick fog, tempest, and floating ice, was now closing in. Attacked by a violent storm, he found it necessary to seek a bay in which he might pass the winter. Button, in this trying situation, seems to have conducted himself with great discretion. He took care to have the crew continually employed, as the best means of averting mutiny and despondence.

So diligent were they in the use of the gun, that they brought down, in the course of the season, 21,600 wild fowl, and thus kept themselves abundantly in fresh provisions. He talked familiarly with his men on the plans and prospects of the voyage, allowing the humblest to give his opinion, and thus kept up a constant and lively discussion. Yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, and that of keeping up constantly three large fires, it was impossible to prevent a number of the company from perishing with cold, against which they had not learned to take those effectual precautions which have succeeded so well with Captain Parry. So well-chosen, however, was his station, to which, from his pilot, he gave the name of Nelson's River, that it has since become the principal settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company.

About the middle of June, Button extricated himself from his enclosed position among the ice, and proceeded on his search. After mature consideration, the north appeared to him to afford the fairest promise, and he proceeded up that great opening, which has since been named Roe's Welcome. After reaching, however, lat. 65°, and finding the channel diminishing into a strait, or even a bay, he gave up hopes, and returned to the southward. He touched at and named various points on Southampton Island; then proceeded through the straits, and reached England, after a passage of sixteen days, in the autumn of 1613. It is remarkable that no original narrative of this voyage has ever been published, and that it is not even mentioned by Purchas, who made it his business to collect accounts of all the voyages made at this era.

In the same year that Button made his voyage, another company fitted out James Hall, who, in the employment of the King of Denmark, had already made, with reputation, three voyages to Greenland. He went, however, merely to the western coast of Greenland, and seems to have had in view rather the discovery of some mineral treasures, which were found altogether worthless, than of a passage to India. Hall, when sitting in his boat, was stabbed by a Greenlander, in supposed revenge of some wrongs sustained from him in a former voyage. The crew performed his obsequies, and returned to England.

The Company, in the result of Button's voyage, saw nothing to damp their ardour. Next year they sent out Gibbons, a relation of Button, who had accompanied that commander in his last voyage, and been highly esteemed by him, to make a farther effort.

This voyage, however, was a total failure; Gibbons, prevented by the ice from entering Hudson's Bay, ran into an inlet on the coast of Labrador, the same where the Moravians formed afterwards their settlement of Nain. Here he remained blocked up till the season for navigating the northern seas was passed. To this icy prison the sailors, in derision gave the name of "Gibbons's Hole," and he returned to England covered with ridicule, having totally failed in his object.

The perseverance of the adventurers was truly wonderful. Forthwith, the very next year, they had a new expedition equipped, the command of which was given to Bylot, who had accompanied Hudson,

and was now of great experience in northern voyages. He had for his pilot Baffin, a navigator of rising reputation, especially for nautical observation; and who had even invented a mode of discovering longitudes by the relative position of the sun and moon. They took the usual course by Cape Farewell, which they passed on the 6th of May, and soon after descried a most lofty island of ice, rising 240 feet above the surface of the waves, which, at the usual estimate of 1-7th, would give 1680 feet for its entire elevation. Proceeding westward, he entered Lumley's or Frobisher's Inlet, and beat about the whole season among the intricate entrances to Hudson's Bay, and the floating ice with which they were encumbered. At one place they saw great numbers of dogs running backward and forward, with such a howling and barking as seemed exceedingly strange. After prayers, a boat was sent on shore to examine into this mystery. They found canoes and five tents covered with seals' skins, among which were running about forty large mastiffs, of a brindled black colour, looking almost like wolves. They were mostly muzzled, and had collars and other furniture fitting them to be yoked in sledges. No people were seen till they reached the top of a hill, whence was descried a boat with fourteen men; but, though courteous salutations were exchanged, neither party chose to trust themselves within reach of the other. The crew were also in great jeopardy near what they called Mill Island, on account of the dreadful grinding of the pieces of ice against each other. When on the east side, the ice came "driving with the tide of flood with such swiftness,

that it overwent our ship, heaving all our sails abroad," and drove them in among narrow sounds and channels. Here the eddies running one way, and the stream another, caused such a rebound of water and ice as would have exposed them to dreadful distress, "had not God, who is stronger than either stream or ice," preserved them from harm. After much sore toil and peril they emerged from all those straits, and came in view of a fair cape or headland, beyond which it was reported, by a boat sent to reconnoitre, that a strong current was coming down from the north. This, with the finding of a depth of 140 fathoms, caused them to give to this point the name of Cape Comfort; but, alas! this name was premature. Scarcely had they turned the point, when "their comfort was quailed." They beheld a coast "pestered with ice," and running to the westward, so as, in their apprehension, to form an enclosed bay. This conclusion was erroneous; for they were now on the eastern coast of Southampton Island, though it is not very probable that they could ever have worked round to the strait of the Fury and Hecla. However the master, fully persuaded, tacked and turned the ship's head homewards without farther search.

The worshipful adventurers, after learning the issue of this voyage, gave up altogether the idea of penetrating to Asia through the narrow and encumbered channels leading to Hudson's Bay. They determined to look to that wide and open sea to the north, which, with little propriety, had been named Davis's Straits. They drew up a set of instructions, conformably to which Bylot and Baffin were to push

directly to the north, along the coast of West Greenland, till they came to lat. 80°, after which they were to direct their course south-west towards the latitude of 60°, and were then to steer directly for Yedzo, to the north of Japan; their reaching which is not made a matter of doubt. Then they were to guide themselves according to their judgment, or as wind and seasons might render necessary.

The two navigators set sail from Gravesend, on the 26th March, in the Discovery, with a crew of only seventeen men. The narrative of this important voyage is written by Baffin, who, though still only pilot, was now, from his skill in navigation, considered quite as the leading man; but he has written it in a manner singularly meagre and unsatisfactory, which Purchas accounts for by his wanting the art of words. It is so much more imperfect, however, than any of his former narratives, that Mr Barrow cannot believe it is really his own. However we have no other, and must make the best of it. Nothing particular occurred till they came to Sanderson's Hope, the farthest limit of Davis's discoveries. They reached next a cluster of islands, where all the men were absent; but there were numerous females, from fourscore downwards, whence they gave them the name of Women's Islands. They carried on a friendly intercourse with these dames, exchanging European goods for the flesh and skin of the seal, on which the natives subsisted almost solely, eating the former raw and clothing themselves with the latter. In lat. 74° they met with other islands, which bore marks of habitation, but were now deserted. The ice was now so

thick, that they were obliged to stand in for the shore, and wait till its dissolution, which was proceeding very fast, should be so far advanced as to allow a passage. Here they were visited by forty-two of the inhabitants, from whom they received various teeth, horns, and bones of the sea-unicorn and sea-morse; whence they named this "Horn Sound." Setting sail in six days, they found a wonderful change, the ice having all disappeared, and twenty leagues of open sea appearing to the north. Then again they were obliged to ply to and fro amid much scattered ice, snow falling every day, and even at midsummer the shrouds and sails were so frozen that they could scarcely be handled; however the cold, though extreme, was such as could be endured. In 76° 35′ they saw a fair cape, named after Sir Dudley Digges, and a fair sound, with an island in the centre, making two entrances, which they called Worsenholme; thus honouring the two chief promoters of the expedition. They were next embayed in a large sound filled with whales, which, if duly provided with instruments, they could easily have struck, and called it Whale Sound. Steering out of this, they passed an isle which they called Hackluyt, and entered another sound still larger, reaching to beyond 78° north, to which they gave the name of Sir Thomas Smith. It appeared admirable to Baffin, as presenting the greatest variation of the compass any where known, being 56° to the westward, so that "north-east and by east is true north." The whales here were equally abundant. They now stood to the westward, and passed another large sound, to which they gave the name of Alderman Jones. Their

course was then south, and in 74° 20′ they found another large opening, called Sir James Lancaster's Sound. Baffin seems to have bestowed very little attention on this future grand entrance into the polar basin. He says, "here our hope of passage began to be less every day," and to the south there was a ledge of ice along the shore, within which he could not penetrate. Along the exterior of this ledge he was obliged to move till he came to the latitude of 65°, within the indraft of Cumberland's Isle, "where hope of passage there could be none." A number of men being sick of the scurvy, and one having died, he steered across for Greenland, where he found an abundance of scurvy-grass, which, being boiled in beer, soon re-established the health of his men; then, sailing direct for England, he arrived at Dover on the 30th August.

Baffin returned with a very strong impression against the probability of a north-west passage. Mr Barrow charges him as almost appearing not to wish to find one; and certainly there was something very supine in his disregard of so promising an opening as that of Lancaster's Sound. He sought, however, to direct the attention of his employers to other objects. In his address to the worshipful master, John Worserholme, Esq., he says there is no passage nor hope of passage in the north of Davis's Straits, "we having coasted all or near all the circumference thereof, and finde it to be no other than a great bay." He conceives, however, that a most profitable voyage might be afforded by the whales, which he calls Grand Bay Whales. Not being accustomed to attack from man,

they were seen in vast numbers "lying or sleeping aloft in the water, not fearing our ship or aught else." This hint was soon improved, and Davis's Straits has ever since been one of the most important seats of the whale-fishery.

The voyage of Baffin completed the early exploration of the American coast, in which no farther progress was made, till a more recent period, first by land-journeys from Hudson's Bay or Canada, and lately on a greater scale by the important expeditions sent out by the British government. Before treating of these, however, it will be expedient to take a view of the discoveries on the western coast, which, beginning from Mexico, were gradually extended along that vast range of shore till they reached the Icy Cape, within the precincts of the arctic ocean.

CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

Expeditions by the Spaniards from Mexico.—Cortes—His Letters to Charles V.—Hurtado.—Mendoza.—Cortes's own Expedition.—Ulloa.—Report of the Seven Cities.—Coronado.—Alarchon.—City of Quivira.—Cabrillo.—Viscaino.—Juan de Fuca.—Da Fonte.—Russian Expedition under Behring and Tchirikoff.—Cook and Clerke.—Meares.—Inhabitants, &c. of Nootka Sound.—Vancouver.—Kotzebue.

WHEN the Spaniards had established their dominion in Mexico, their attention was soon attracted to the seas and regions beyond it. The vast and ambitious mind of Cortes, not content with the conquest of that rich and celebrated empire, viewed it only as a step to some still more vast and opulent acquisition. This he hoped to find in the wide space which separates America from India, in the bosom of the great South Sea, which the voyage of Magellan had proved to exist, though its range and dimensions were yet very imperfectly known. Another sentiment strongly impelled Cortes into this career. A fortune so brilliant

as his made him too great in the eyes of his imperial master, who dreaded to intrust him with uncontrolled sway; and Cortes held only a divided power in Mexico, the reality being chiefly vested in Mendoza, the viceroy. By new discoveries he hoped to retrieve his greatness, and silently to reproach his master for this jealous ingratitude. In his letters to Charles V. he announces the most magnificent schemes. He was to have the whole coast from Panama to the Gulf of Florida examined in search of a passage to the South Sea, the existence of which, in that imperfect state of knowledge, appeared still possible. He was then to penetrate to the Baccalaos, (Newfoundland), beyond which he doubted not to find a strait which would afford a much shorter route to India and the Moluccas, and thus connect together all his majesty's vast dominions.* But his main hope was from two brigantines which he was fitting out on the western coast of Mexico; by means of which he trusted to make Charles master of more kingdoms than were known in Spain to exist; nay, he would take care that nothing should be wanting to render his majesty ruler of the whole world. Charles was abundantly alive

* Tengo per mui cierto que con ellos siendo Deos nuestro Senor servido, tengo de ser causa que vuestra Cæsarea magestad sea en estas partes Senor de mas Reinos i Senorios que los que hasta oi en nuestra nacion si tiene noticia; pues creo que con hacer yo esto no le quedara a Vuestra Excelsitud mas que hacer para ser Monarcha del Mundo. Carta 19. *ap.* Barcia, Historiadores del Nuevo Mundo, I. p. 148.

to any scheme for the extension of his dominions, but he devolved upon Cortes the whole expense and hazard of these mighty undertakings, granting to him only a proportion of the treasures which he might bring to light. There is no record of the proposed voyages for the north-west passage, all his resources being absorbed by the armament preparing on the coast of the South Sea. Cortes, indeed, complains to Charles of the enormous funds which had been swallowed in this undertaking, and of the immense expense of transporting anchors, sails, cables, pitch, tar, and other materials, across a country of such stupendous elevation, broken by steep rocks and great and rapid rivers. The entire cost, he says, amounts to 800 pesos of gold, without including other extraordinaries. Then, after these materials had been transported at so enormous an expense, a fire broke out in the arsenal, which consumed the whole, with the exception of the iron-work. So great a disaster seems to have cooled the ardour of this daring adventurer; but, being called upon to do something in fulfilment of his lofty promises, he at length contrived to equip two brigantines, and sent them to the northward, under Diego de Hurtado. The result was disastrous. One of the crews mutinied and returned to Xalisco; Hurtado himself was never more heard of. Cortes, however, immediately ordered two other ships to be built at Tehuantepec, and went thither in person to hasten their progress. In 1534 he sent them out under two captains, Grijalva and Mendoza. The ships were separated on the very first night, and never again met. Grijalva

sailed three hundred leagues, till he came to an island, which he called Santo Tome, and which is supposed to be situated near the north point of California; after which he returned as he went. Mendoza, by his haughty and fiery disposition, exposed himself to that mutinous spirit which formed the scourge of the naval expeditions of that age.—Ximenes, his pilot, having entered into a conspiracy, murdered him in his sleep, with several of his officers. Ximenes, not venturing then to return to Mexico, pushed his way northward, and seems to have first touched on the coast of California. Having landed, however, he was attacked by the natives and killed, with twenty of his men. The survivors brought the vessel back to Chiametla, reporting that they had found the coast tolerably good, and that it particularly abounded in pearls.

Cortes, dazzled by this first glimmering of wealth, and imputing these heavy disasters to the misconduct of the commanders, determined to prepare a larger expedition, and to take the command of it in person. He equipped at Tehuantepec three vessels, which were brought round to Chiametla, whence the whole set sail. They were immediately dispersed, however, by a violent storm, when Cortes put back, but was joined only by one of his ships. He then set out in search of the rest, which he at last found stranded and in a miserable condition. Some of the sailors had perished of famine, and several more died of too hasty repletion when he supplied them with provisions. Cortes, still not discouraged, set out on farther discovery; but disturbances having broken

out in Mexico, a vessel was sent requesting him to return,—a summons which, beset as he was with so many difficulties, and hopeless of achieving any thing brilliant, he was perhaps not unwilling to obey. Francisco de Ulloa, whom he left behind, was soon obliged to return by the want of provisions. All this did not satisfy Cortes. He sent Ulloa back with three vessels, to prosecute the career of discovery. Ulloa spent a year in examining the coasts and seas, till, in lat. 32°, he discovered the Vermeil Sea, or the Sea of Cortes, as it had been called, to be a bay similar to the Adriatic; but he returned without any report of those golden realms, the hope of which had been so fondly cherished and so confidently vaunted.*

The disastrous result of these enterprises chilled the ardour for discovery in the mind of the Spaniards in general, and of Cortes himself, whose hopes and spirits began to sink under disappointment and neglect. Suddenly, however, a new impulse was given. In 1537, arrived, as formerly related, Alvaro Nunez, after his shipwreck and long pilgrimage from the coast of Florida. The relation of his extraordinary adventures, including the imaginary miracles which he had achieved, excited a singular interest in the Mexican capital. The relation was also considered, though it does not exactly appear on what grounds, as exhibiting many tempting objects to be found in

* Gomara Chronica de la Nueva Espana, cap. 187-8-9. Venegas, California, part ii. sect. 2.

these northern regions. In the following year, Mendoza sent a monk, Fra Marco da Nizza, who, with the aid of our Lady the most Holy Virgin, and of our Father St Francis, undertook to inquire what was to be found in the extensive regions northward of Mexico. Furnished with such Indian guides as could be procured, he was recommended to the good offices of Vasquez Coronado, governor of New Galicia. The journey of discovery began from Culiacan, then the most northerly settlement which had been formed by the Spaniards. He proceeded first through plains rendered almost waste by the causes already reported by Alvaro Nunez, the natives being exposed to the continual inroads of the Spaniards, who plundered them of every thing, and carried off numbers as slaves. Some Indians, however, were met from the island discovered by Cortes, (California), which they certified to him, though falsely, was really an island, and not, as some asserted, a part of the continent. On showing them pearls, he was assured that there were many and of large size in their country. After travelling several days through an uninhabited region, he came to a nation of Indians, who, having never seen any Christians, received them most hospitably, and called them men from heaven. They reported, moreover, that at the distance of thirty or forty days' journey, after passing the steeps of the mountains, they would come to an extensive and fertile plain, in which were many cities, inhabited by a people more numerous, more wealthy, and more polished than themselves. As the father pressed onward in search of the tempting objects thus

reported, he met a party whom he calls Pintados, or painted Indians, who came from these cities, and who, on being eagerly interrogated, confirmed all the former favourable accounts. On being shown the specimens of valuable articles which he carried with him, they immediately pointed to gold, the most precious of all, as that with which their cities abounded. So ample was the store, that it was not only suspended as an ornament from the nose and ears, but domestic utensils of the most common and humble description were fabricated from this precious metal. Turquoises also were described as so plentiful, that the doors were ornamented and in a great measure constructed with them. Cevola, or Cibola, the nearest of these cities, was as celebrated in these regions as Termititlan was in Mexico. It was spacious, and consisted of houses of stone, six or seven storeys high, the access to which was by moveable wooden stairs. These cheering reports encouraged the father to proceed on his journey, which he made agreeably, through a fertile territory, and among friendly Indians, who all confirmed to him the averments respecting the greatness and wealth of Cibola. As he approached, an arrangement was made, it does not precisely appear on what grounds, that Stefano Dorante, one of his companions, should go forward with an escort of three hundred Indians, to prepare the way for the rest. As Da Nizza, however, was following a few days after, he met an Indian, from whom he received the most doleful tidings. Dorante, on approaching, sounded bells, waved white plumes, and made other signals of peace and friendship; instead

of accepting which, the citizens seized him and his companions, imprisoned them in a large house without the city, and stripped them of every thing that they had either brought with them or received on the road. On their attempting to escape next morning, they were pursued with clouds of arrows, Dorante himself killed, and only a few escaped to tell this disastrous tale. Father da Nizza was immediately urged to retrace his steps with all speed; but he declared his resolution not to return to Mexico without seeing Cevola, and two of his principal attendants consented to go along with him, all *incognito*. In this guise they actually reached the city, of which he had the opportunity of taking a full view without being discovered. He found fulfilled all that had been reported of the splendour of Cevola, which appeared to contain twenty thousand houses of the same lofty description described by the Indians. The inhabitants were well clothed in cotton and hides, and slept on beds. They had jewels of many species, none of which they esteemed so highly as turquoises, with which they really ornamented the doors of their houses. Gold and silver were their only metals, and were in greater abundance and more familiar use than in Peru. Notwithstanding his perilous position, the father contrived to take possession of the country, by setting up a small cross, on which was inscribed the name of Mendoza, the vicercy, and he called it the kingdom of St Francis. He now hastened home, receiving a much less welcome reception from the Indians, who were plunged in grief on account of their lost countrymen; however, he arrived without molestation, first

at Culiacan, and then at Compostella, where he wrote a full narrative of the above particulars.

These tidings of the great city of Cevola, its lofty mansions, and its utensils of gold and silver, filled all Mexico with hope and exultation. Nothing else was talked or thought of; another Peru, more brilliant than that which Pizarro had conquered, seemed only to wait for the fortunate hero who should march to its conquest. The achievement belonged justly to Cortes, in virtue of the commission by which, amid the privation of other power, that of discovering unknown regions and shores was specially intrusted to him. But Mendoza could not allow so magnificent and so sure a prize to be carried off by a competitor towards whom he stood in many unfriendly relations. Disregarding the claims of Cortes, he assumed to himself the entire conduct of an expedition which was to add to Spain a third empire, rivalling in splendour Mexico and Peru. Cortes remonstrated in vain; though loudly, against this injustice, and even appealed against it to the tribunals. But he found, that he had there a very different conflict to maintain from that in which he had been accustomed to decide the fate of empires; solicitors and counsellors, backed by the ruling powers, presented a front more formidable than the countless hosts whom he had vanquished on the plain of Otumba. While he was prosecuting his fruitless lawsuit, the viceroy was busy carrying into effect the expedition by which he hoped to immortalize his name and eclipse the glory of his rival.

Mendoza fitted out two ample and well-provided armaments, one of which was to proceed by sea and

the other by land. The command of the former he conferred on Fernando di Alarchon; the latter, consisting of a thousand chosen men, he at first intended to command in person, but was afterwards induced to intrust to Vasquez di Coronado.

Coronado, with his troops, set out full of the most sanguine hopes, and proceeded for some time cheerfully along the difficult and mountainous route which led to Cevola. The Spaniards were animated by the prospect of arriving at that level and fertile tract, along which a great part of their route had been described to extend. At length they reached this promised land; but here they met with a severe disappointment. The region wore the most dreary and rugged aspect; it consisted only of mountains so steep that their horses could scarcely be led across them; there was not a single field of grain; and a few clusters of miserable cottages formed the only sign of human habitation. Grievous murmurs arose among the soldiery, not only on account of their actual sufferings, but of the doubt which they could not but entertain, that the future portions of the route might bear a similar correspondence to the description given by the Franciscans, as the present manifestly did. Coronado's own mind began to misgive him; but he put the best possible face upon the matter, telling his troops that the Seven Cities were the real objects of their pursuit, and that nothing in the intermediate space was worthy of their regard. They continued, therefore, to labour on through these rugged and desolate tracts, in which many of the horses perished; and several of the party, reduced

by want to feed on unwholesome herbs, also died. Doubts likewise increased as to the fidelity of the reports to which they were trusting, when they came to a place which had been described as only five leagues distant from the sea, and found it to be fifteen days' journey. However, they still went on, and, after a long and dreary journey, and passing some mountains still more rugged than before, came in view of a plain covered with grass and watered by fresh streams, which put them in mind of Castile. This was the plain of the Seven Cities. The first Indians whom the Spaniards met received them with signs of friendship; and Coronado, wisely instructed to employ every means of conciliation, sent them to the city with valuable presents, and with assurances of the most pacific and amicable intentions. Various suspicious circumstances, however, occurring as they advanced, he hastened to take possession of a strong mountain-pass leading to the place. The Cevolans soon appeared in great force; and though they retreated on seeing the pass held by the Spaniards, they began and continued to discharge their arrows. Coronado long resisted the urgent desire of his troops to retaliate, till three horses being killed, and two men wounded, there appeared no longer to be any choice left. A discharge of fire-arms induced the enemy to retreat, and throw themselves into the town. Open hostilities were thus commenced, and the extreme scarcity of food under which the Spaniards laboured could only be relieved by forcing an entrance without delay. Coronado led on his men to the assault. The resistance was desperate, and the Spaniards were

assailed not only by showers of arrows, but by great stones, thrown with extraordinary force. Coronado himself, rendered conspicuous by his gilded armour, was pierced by three arrows in his face and leg, twice struck to the ground with large stones, and was thus obliged to leave the field. At length the disciplined bravery of the Spaniards prevailed over the rude though fierce valour of their antagonists, and they made their triumphal entry into the golden city.

Coronado, soon recovered from his wounds, had leisure to survey this much-desired possession, and compare it with the descriptions of Da Nizza. The relation of that worthy father then proved to be a string of lies from beginning to end. Instead of any thing which could be compared with the capital of Mexico, he saw only somewhat of a large village, of about 400 houses, several storeys high indeed, roughly built of stone, and ascended by moveable wooden stairs; but the gold and silver, which had been the main object, could nowhere be found; and the jewels were merely different species of pebble and rock-crystal. The country composed an elevated plain, tolerably productive in grass and maize, but subject in winter to extreme cold. Since he had reached the city, he would take possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty; but it could never fulfil any of those brilliant hopes, under the influence of which he had been led to undertake so painful an expedition.

Fernando de Alarchon meantime was proceeding up the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California, to co-operate with the grand expedition. After several ad-

ventures, he came to the mouth of a large river, which flowed with a strong current, and which seemed likely to be near the point on which he was intending to operate. A numerous band of people soon appeared on the banks, and their numbers hourly increased. They were well-armed with bows and arrows, and, having their standards unfurled, made the most threatening signals to the Spaniards that they should advance no farther. Alarchon, carefully instructed, it should seem, to follow the most conciliatory course, took his sword, laid it at the bottom of the boat, and stood upon it; then took a flag and laid it down, causing his companions to do the same. He then held out several of those articles, destined either for presents or barter, which were most tempting in the eyes of the Indians. Hereupon one of them, an old man, took a staff, stept into the water, and presented it to Alarchon, who immediately embraced him, and offered presents of beads, paternosters, and other spiritual toys. The Indian immediately returned to his countrymen, who began to look at the Spaniards, and to speak with each other; after which they approached in a large body and in the most amicable manner. Signs were made that they should lower their standards, and lay down their arms at a certain distance from the bank; and, as their numbers still appeared formidable, it was added, that they should approach only by tens; to all which they acceded. The successive divisions were saluted with great kindness, and received various presents. Having thus established a good understanding, the Spaniards proceeded up the river, where they soon met with an

Indian who understood one of those whom they carried along with them. Through this medium it was immediately communicated to the natives, that the Spaniards were children of the Sun, who had been sent by their father to be the lords of the Indians, and to put an end to the wars, which had caused such desolation among them. The natives showed every disposition to receive this; though, in sifting it to the bottom, they put some questions that were rather puzzling. They asked why, since the Sun was sending his children, he had delayed so long this beneficent errand, and allowed so many fatal events to take place; and they wondered why, in sending the Spaniards on such a mission, he had left them entirely ignorant of the language of those whom they were to instruct and rule over. The Spaniards got up such answers as they could to these difficulties, and the Indians were at last satisfied. They assisted the Spaniards, therefore, in continuing to ascend the river, where they at length found an Indian, who could tell something about Cevola. He even knew the particulars of the first expedition thither by Father da Nizza. On being asked the cause of the very hostile reception then experienced by the Spaniards, he ascribed it to the imprudence of Dorante, who, on being asked if he had many brethren like himself, replied that they were infinite in number, well provided with arms, and at no great distance. This report alarmed the Cevolans, who thought no time should be lost in crushing such formidable visitants. Cevola was stated to be ten days' journey distant, and across a very rugged country. Alarchon was anxious to have opened a

communication with his countrymen, who must have by this time been in its vicinity; but none of his companions would venture to undertake such a journey. He saw then no further motive for continuing the laborious ascent of this difficult stream, and determined immediately to run his bark down to the sea. The Indians, however, were equally surprised and displeased with this movement, asking how it could be reconciled with their having been sent by the Sun to govern and civilize them. The Spaniards do not seem to have known well what to answer, but did not the less hasten down to the sea, which they reached in two days and a half, after having spent fifteen days in ascending. Alarchon continued for some time to beat along the coast, but without being able to hear another word of Cevola, or seeing the least prospect of opening an intercourse with his countrymen; and his armament becoming exhausted and sickly, he returned to Mexico.

Meantime Coronado, anxious not to return without having done or discovered something, began to make earnest inquiries respecting the country beyond the Seven Cities. All accounts pointed towards Quivira, a maritime city, as the most flourishing in this part of America. Coronado reached it without difficulty across a route of three hundred leagues, through a country level, though not populous. Quivira was found really to be a city more considerable than any of the seven, of which the fame had been blazed so widely. The country round was fertile and luxuriant, though a peculiar breed of cattle constituted its sole wealth. Quivira was henceforth the grand

landmark of the Spaniards in their enterprises of northern discovery; but no city under that name or site was ever recognised. It has been ascertained, however, that this coast is populous, and inhabited by a race somewhat superior in arts and civilization to the other native tribes of North America. There seems therefore no ground to suspect any thing fictitious in the very moderate celebration which is given to it. There is indeed a report of ships seen along the coast, having their prows adorned with images of gold and silver birds, of which it is difficult to know what to make. However, Coronado, finding nothing to detain him longer, returned to Mexico; and two monks, who went afterwards to Quivira, were involved in a quarrel with the natives, and killed.*

The viceroy, Mendoza, frustrated of all those airy and splendid hopes, in the pursuit of which he had made such vast preparations, and even broken the ties of honour and justice, determined upon a further effort to effect something which might throw lustre on his period of viceroyalty. He prepared two expeditions to navigate the Pacific, one westwards and the other towards the north. The latter, with which alone we have at present any concern, consisted of two ships, commanded by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese seaman of courage and reputation. The narrative of Cabrillo's voyage is far from copious. After passing the limits of California, he came to a

* Ramusio, III. 297-303—Venegas, California, part II. sect. 2.

succession of capes, and gave them the names of various coasts, which they have not retained. In thirty-six degrees he was informed of a people living in the interior, who wore clothes; and in the latitude of about 40° descried two mountains covered with snow, between which a bold cape projected into the ocean, to which, from his employer, he gave the name of Cape Mendozino. Cabrillo sailed four degrees still farther north; but, finding the cold becoming intense, as well as provisions beginning to fail, he judged it advisable to return to Mexico. There he gave it as his opinion that vessels of a greater strength and burden, as well as more amply equipped and provisioned, would be necessary to engage in the difficult and dangerous navigation of these northern coasts.*

In 1596, the Conde de Monterey, then viceroy, in pursuance of instructions from home, sent an expedition of three vessels to California and the South Sea, for the joint purposes of settlement and discovery. They were placed under the command of Sebastian Viscaino, an officer who had distinguished himself both in the sea and land service, and was considered eminent both for valour and discretion. Viscaino sailed first along the western coast of Mexico, till he came to the mouth of the Gulf of California. He then steered across this ample opening, till in five days the expedition came in view of the wished-for land. Having found a secure bay and port, which was called the St Sebastian, but afterwards La Paz,

* Venegas, *ut supra.*

they immediately sought to open a friendly intercourse with the natives. The latter came in crowds; a naked race, armed with bows, arrows, and wooden javelins hardened in the fire. They readily met, however, the friendly overtures of the Spaniards, and exchanged presents. Viscaino now thought it time to take possession of the country in name of his Catholic Majesty, which he did by hoisting standards and firing cannon,—proceedings the import of which was little understood by the natives. They crowded to the spot, and showed the delighted admiration natural at the view of such novel objects, and which the Spaniards chose to interpret as signs of homage. The friars, of whom four accompanied the armament, then asked them to bring their children, of whom a certain number were collected, though it is admitted that the time was too short to give them any sufficient instruction. Indeed, it seems admitted, that the only symptoms of conversion consisted in admiration of the splendour of the service, particularly of the mass; their views respecting which were shown by asking if they were the children of the Sun, and offering to worship them.

The expedition were not long on this coast, when they found that a capital error had been committed in the slender stock of provisions with which they had been furnished. The soldiers, reduced to a small plate of maize in the day, pronounced it impossible that on such short allowance they could venture into the depths of an unknown ocean. The chiefs and officers having held a council, decided that it really was impossible to proceed farther, and that all they could do was

to send the Almirante, one of the vessels, with a boat, to survey the eastern coast of the peninsula. This vessel proceeded accordingly for a hundred leagues, holding intercourse with the natives where their disposition appeared friendly, and immediately re-embarking where it was found otherwise. After having sailed about a hundred leagues in this manner, they came to a point, where they landed fifty men, who, not judging themselves well received, turned back to the boat; but the Indians, displeased with this conduct, let fly some arrows, and wounded several of the Spaniards. The latter immediately discharged their pieces, and killed two or three Indians, who thereupon hastened back, and brought with them about five hundred of their countrymen. The boat unfortunately was too small to convey more than half the number at a time; so that twenty-five were obliged to wait its return. This took place just as the Indians had commenced a general discharge of arrows. The Spaniards would have been fully competent to defend themselves; but most unhappily, amid the agitation of this attack, the boat was overset, and they fell into the water. Their arms were so wet as to be rendered useless; and the water being deep, they could not stand firm, or use their weapons with any effect. They stood thus a helpless mark to the showers of arrows and stones which were poured upon them; nineteen perished miserably in view of the ships, which could not approach to aid them; and only five saved themselves by swimming. After this gloomy adventure, the Spaniards did not attempt to proceed farther, but carried back the report, that many of the dis-

tricts appeared tolerably fertile, and that there was a pearl-fishery of considerable value. On their return, Viscaino no longer hesitated in steering for Acapulco.

Considerable discouragement seems to have been felt from the tenor of this voyage, and no fresh attempt was made at the time; but, in 1602, Philip III. sent out fresh instructions to the Conde de Monterey to set on foot exploratory voyages both to the west and the north. The latter was to be along the exterior western coast of America, of which a complete survey was to be made as far as Cape Mendocino, in 40° of N. latitude. The special reason was, that many vessels from the Philippines, in consequence of the direction which they were led to take by the trade-winds, came first in view of America near this point, and were exposed to danger from their ignorance of the coast. It was, besides, intimated that his Majesty had good information of a vessel which had sailed from Baccalaos, (Newfoundland), through the Strait of Anian, and discovered there a very rich city. The expedition might, therefore, endeavour to follow the reverse of this route, and sail through the Strait and Newfoundland to Spain. The Conde de Monterey lost no time in obeying this order, and fitted out three other vessels, which he placed again under the command of Viscaino, whose knowledge of this coast as well as his general prudence and capacity seemed to point him out as the best qualified person. Viscaino accordingly sailed from the port of La Navidad, and reached first the islands of Mazatlan at the mouth of the gulf, remarkable for a visit paid to them by Sir Thomas Cavendish. Here he

steered across to the opposite side, and refreshed for some time in the port of La Paz; where, finding his stock of provisions now ample, he sailed out to the exterior coast along the ocean. Here they were overtaken by heavy fogs, in one of which all the three were separated, the Capitana having entered a spacious bay, while the Almirante kept out to sea, and the smallest one, called the Tender, lagged behind. The Capitana and the Tender soon joined each other; but twenty-eight days elapsed, till, on entering a bay in the island of Cerros, they descried their lost consort, to the extreme joy of all the three. Yet a second separation took place, and lasted for twelve days, till they met again in the bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. By this time they had passed California, and come upon the coast of New Mexico. The Indians here were somewhat more civilized than in the former country, and carried on a considerable intercourse with the interior, where they reported that there was a people well clothed and living in large houses; whence it was inferred, either that there was a country of civilized Indians, or that some of the Spaniards settled in New Mexico had become known to these natives. In proceeding along the coast, the Spaniards came to an excellent and spacious harbour, to which they gave the viceroy's name of Monterey, which it still retains. A disease, the same to which the ships from China were liable, (the scurvy) now spread through the fleet. Its symptoms, swelling and eruption over the whole body, the teeth loosening and dropping from the gums, extreme languor and sudden death from mere debility, appalled the Spaniards, who, ignorant of its now well-

known cause and cure, imagined it to arise from the violence of the cold, or some pestilential quality in this northern air. The narrator judges, that he must be extravagantly fond of life who can wish to preserve it after being attacked by so cruel a malady. They saw no remedy, therefore, but to send back the Almirante with all the bad cases of sickness, while the Capitana endeavoured to prosecute the train of discovery. It proceeded, accordingly, till it came opposite to a cape supposed to be that of Mendocino; but the disease spreading rapidly, rendered the condition of the crew every day more calamitous, till there were not above six men in a condition to keep the deck. A new panic then struck them, that they might not have strength sufficient to navigate the vessel back to Mexico. There was judged then to be no alternative but to place the vessel before the wind, which happened to be favourable in the direction of Acapulco. The frigate, meantime, which had again lost its consorts, pushed on to the north, till it came to the latitude of 43°, where it passed a large cape, which it called Cape Blanco, and found a broad and deep river bordered with noble woods, and which was inferred to be the strait, by which it is said the Dutch had passed from the northern to the southern sea, and found a magnificent city, supposed to be Quivira. The great river thus identified with the strait of Anian, though placed in too low a latitude, cannot well, it should seem, be any other than the Columbia.

The Capitana, in its return, happily enjoying a continued and favourable wind from the north-west,

proceeded rapidly and prosperously. Thus, with scarcely any effort, they guided the ship to the port of Mazatlan, at the mouth of the Californian gulf. Here, arriving in the most miserable state, they were received with the utmost hospitality, and, being plentifully supplied with fresh meat, vegetables, and acid fruits, they recovered health with a rapidity which appeared to them miraculous. In the course of nineteen days, all who still lived had completely recovered, without even a trace of such a dreadful distemper. They then sailed for Acapulco, where their appearance caused the most agreeable surprise. The Almirante had arrived there in the most evil plight, with only three men in any tolerable health, and after having lost twenty-five. Its condition, with the report it brought, and the interval which had elapsed, had led to the conclusion, that the Capitana must not only have suffered much more severely, but probably have perished with all her crew. It was a wonderful sight, therefore, when they appeared in the most flourishing health, without a trace of having suffered under disease of any description.

Viscaino, not discouraged by the sufferings endured by him in this voyage, solicited permission to make a fresh attempt, at his own expense; but even this, under the arbitrary and zealous sway of Spain, could not be done without royal permission. This he found could only be obtained by repairing to the mother country; where, on laying the proposition before the council of the Indies, he found so much delay, indifference, and irresolution, that he left Spain in disgust and despair. The Spanish court, however, soon changed its views on the subject; and, in 1606, a

royal rescript was sent out, instructing the viceroy, who was now the Marquis de Montes Claros, to find out, if possible, Viscaino, and employ him in a fresh voyage, as similar as possible to the preceding one. Viscaino was found, and undertook with alacrity the proposed expedition; but when just about to sail he was seized with an illness, and died; after which the affair was entirely dropped, and no farther steps taken to carry the intentions of the king into effect.*

The annals of Spanish discovery here close, and record no farther attempts to reach the northern latitudes of America. Yet there is some reason to think that others may have been shrouded in that veil of timid mystery which that nation afterwards so anxiously threw over all her American transactions. One of these transpired in a very singular manner. Mr Lok, an English gentleman, very curious in these matters, fell in at Venice with an old pilot, a native of Greece, named Juan de Fuca, who gave him a narrative of his naval adventures. One of these, of which he retained a deep recollection, was the having been in the ship plundered by Captain Candish off Cape California. The other was, that, in 1592, he had accompanied a voyage for the discovery of the Strait of Anian. In this voyage, he stated that, on the coast turning to the north and north-east, he came between the 47th and 48th degrees of latitude to this supposed strait, and sailed twenty days through it, the land now turning west and north-west, till he

* Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, book v. ch. 45-58.

emerged into the spacious expanse of the North Sea. Having thus, as he apprehended, completed the object of his expedition, he turned back towards Acupulco. He long solicited from the viceroy a reward adequate to the service, and which might compensate for his former losses; but, after suing for two years, he obtained only an advice to go to Spain and apply to the king himself. To Spain accordingly he went, and was welcomed "with words after the Spanish manner;" but never having arrived at any thing else, he was now on his return to his native country. If, however, he were allowed a hundred pounds for the expense of transporting himself to England, he was ready to afford to that nation his utmost services for the discovery and navigation of this important Strait. —England, it appears, could not muster so enormous a sum; but Mr Lok, always hoping that it might at last be drawn from the court and treasury, kept up a correspondence with the old pilot, till at last, receiving no answer, he had reason to believe that he had sickened and died. Lok is quite a respectable person, and known as the translator of Peter Mastyr's Decades, which treat of American discovery. Candish, too, really makes mention of an old pilot found on board, the Spanish prize which he captured. But, as Mr Barrow observes, the strongest confirmation of all, is that afforded by the discovery since made of a strait and long channel in the precise latitude described; for Vancouver's criticism that there is a difference of one degree is of very little weight. This channel is that since called Queen Charlotte's Sound, and which opens, at its farther

extremity, not as De Fuca supposed, into the Atlantic, but into an ulterior portion of the Pacific; however, according to the imperfect knowledge and ideas of that age, this was an error from which he could scarcely escape. The maritime public, therefore, in giving to this Strait the name of De Fuca, seems to have admitted his claim of being its first discoverer.

Another voyage, which has made a still greater noise in the world, but does not at present enjoy so high a reputation, is that of Admiral de Fonte. The only narrative of it which has yet appeared is that inserted, in the year 1708, in an English miscellany, entitled "Memoirs for the Curious," without any very distinct account of how it got there. According to this relation, De Fonte had been despatched from Mexico, with the never-ceasing object of the North-West Passage. He sailed to the north of California till he came to the 53d degree of latitude, when he found himself among numerous islands, separated by narrow channels, which formed a sort of labyrinth, and which he called the Archipelago of San Lazaro. Here, in the course of various turnings and windings, we find him in a large river, filled, however, with cod and other sea-fishes, and which led into a very extensive lake, called Belle, abounding with islands, and extending 160 leagues in length and 60 in breadth. This was explored by Captain Barnarda, the second in command, who in vain endeavoured to find a passage into Davis's Strait, and on sending forward several of his men, was informed that this western sea terminated in a lake thirty

miles in circumference, in the 80th degree of latitude. Meantime the Indians gave notice that a European ship, the first ever seen in those latitudes, was lying in a bay of the Lake Belle. De Fonte immediately went to the place, where he found Senior Gibbons, the commander, and Captain Shapeley, the pilot. They proved to be exceedingly intelligent and well-informed men, and stated that they came from a large town in New England, called Boston, where they were persons of consequence, and intimately related to the governor. De Fonte gave them warning that their presence here was exceedingly irregular, his government considering as intruders all who came into those seas, especially with any view to the northern passage; however, as he wished to act a friendly part, he would consider them as having for their aim only fishery and the trade in furs, and would wink at having found them where they ought not to be. De Fonte finally returned with the report, that the passage which he had been deputed to search for had no existence. While the genuineness of the voyage of De Fuca is generally admitted by the public, and by the highest authorities of the present day, that of De Fonte is branded as a palpable fiction, for which the world is solely indebted to the invention of Petiver, editor of the miscellany in which it appeared. I confess that I pause in coming to this conclusion. It appears to me very incomprehensible what motive Petiver could have for getting up so singular a fable. It is a dry perplexed narrative of facts and positions, without any thing which seems meant or can tend to amuse the public, or to excite their wonder. If

his object was to raise a sensation on the subject of the North-West Passage, this would surely have been attempted by representing that passage as performed, or at least as possible; whereas he repeatedly states, that it was found impracticable. The circumstance which particularly weighs with me is, that at or near the latitude of 53 degrees there does exist a labyrinth of isles, channels, and narrow passages, through which it cost Vancouver so much time to thread his way, and which correspond exactly with the described Archipelago of San Lazaro. The part of the coast thus marked being then entirely unknown in Europe, it seems inconceivable how Petiver could have divined its existence. The extensive woods and the profusion of berries agree exactly with the report of Meares and other modern navigators. If we sift even the improbabilities and mistakes of the narrative, we shall find them not unnatural in one who was tracing his way through such a labyrinth of sounds and passages. The river abounding in cod and other sea-fish might be only a long inlet; and even the great mystery of the Lake Belle seems solved without much difficulty, by supposing it to be the inland sea, enclosed by the American continent on one side, and on the other by the Queen Charlotte, and the other large exterior islands of the Archipelago. This would give us the dimension of the lake, and its character of being studded with numerous islands. It is admitted, from a passage in Witsen's Oost-Tartarie, that there was such a naval commander as De Fonte employed by the Spanish government in making discoveries; and it seems vain

for that nation to insist that if there had been such a voyage, they must have had some record of it, since they had confessedly none of that by De Fuca. In short, the above correspondence in the character of the coast appears so striking, that it can be invalidated only by the most decided inconsistencies and improbabilities. Of such there appears to be only one, which is the very *mal-apropos* appearance of Senior Gibbons and his pilot, at which we do not wonder that De Fonte should have been a little astonished. It would be rather painful to suggest a corruption of the text, though this might not be inconsistent with there being a genuine foundation. But there is one question which does not seem quite decided. The narrative nowhere asserts, though all its commentators suppose so, that this vessel came by way of Davis's Straits or Hudson's Bay. The narrator, in fact, never could have meant to intimate what, by his own report, was an absolute impossibility. But is it absolutely impossible that a vessel from Boston, or perhaps one from England after touching there, might have made its way round by Cape Horn? It was now half a century since this coast, as far as California, had been rendered familiar to British navigators by the voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier.

As the Spaniards ceased to navigate the seas, to whose coasts they made the most pompous pretensions, another power, hitherto unknown to science and navigation, began to appear in them. Russia had overrun with surprising rapidity the whole north of Asia, and established stations in Kamtschatka, on the shores

of the Pacific Ocean. She was still in the dark, however, as to her relations with those extremities of the western continent, to which she thus became much nearer than any other power. There was even a question whether the two continents did not actually join at these their two most remote points. Behring and Spangberg, in 1725, were instructed, if possible, to bring this question to a decision by rounding the north-eastern extremity of Asia. Spangberg was not successful; but Behring, in 1728, succeeded in reaching the Asiatic side of the straits which bear his name. He did not see America; but as Asia appeared stretching to the westward, he considered himself as having established its entire disjunction from any other great portion of the globe.

The Russian government, meantime, now quite alive to this class of objects, was anxious, since the two continents were not joined together, to discover where America was. In 1731 an expedition was organized for the purpose of sailing direct across to that continent, ascertaining the position of its shores, and discovering, if possible, the long-sought northern passage. No expedition of discovery had ever as yet been so amply provided, as to science. Three members of the Imperial Academy at St Petersburgh, De Lisle de la Croyere, Gmelin, and Muller, undertook to accompany it; they were afterwards joined by Steller the botanist, and embarked on these icy seas. The naval command was again confided to Behring. The preparations at St Petersburgh, however, and the building of the ships at Petropaulowsk, employed several years, and it was 1740 before the whole party had

made their dreary journey across Siberia, and were ready to embark. Spangberg had, in the meantime, made a voyage in which he discovered the northern coast of Japan; but, as he reported it eleven or twelve degrees west of Kamtschatka, contrary to the ideas of the age, which placed it under the same meridian, his report was viewed with strong though unmerited scepticism. Several coasting voyages were also undertaken along the eastern limit of Siberia; in one of which Gevosdew reported himself to have reached a coast directly opposite to that of the Tschutki, and which must have been America, though it was not recognized as such.

On the 4th June, 1741, Behring sailed from Petropaulowsk with two vessels, one of which was commanded by Captain Tchirikow. They sailed first to the south-east, misled by a Portuguese map, which placed in that quarter "land seen by John de Gama, in going from India to New Spain." This slender indication was found to be erroneous, and they then turned to the northwards, till they reached the fifteenth degree, when they prepared to steer directly across for America. Here, however, the ships were separated by a violent fog and storm, and never met in any subsequent part of their disastrous voyages. Behring reached the American coast in lat. 58°, and, as appeared to him, fifty degrees of longitude west of Awatcha. The boat, being sent to approach the shore, discovered a bay with good anchorage; and on landing they found some empty huts adorned with carvings, which gave an idea of the natives as not plunged in total barbarism. They found also good

store of fresh salmon, smoked fish, and vegetables, with a whetstone, on which it appeared that copper knives had been sharpened. The natives had fled; but to prove that in so doing they had judged uncandidly of their unknown visitors, presents were left of kettles, knives, beads, and toys. The Russians did not remain more than six hours on shore, which, however, enabled Steller to collect a considerable number of plants, which were afterwards classed and described.

Behring now proceeded northwards, intending to push on as far as the latitude of 65°; but this aim was defeated by his finding the coast tend to the west, and even to south-west. It was determined hereupon to stand out to sea, to avoid the numerous islands and often heavy surf, by which their course was obstructed and often endangered. On the 30th July they passed Tumannoi Ostrog, or Foggy Island, and on the 29th August came to a numerous group, which they called the Schumagins. While they stopped here to take in water, a cry was heard from the shore, and two boats, similar to those used by the Greenlanders, came rowing towards the ship. They understood the American calumet, and exchanged it as a sign of peace; but nothing could induce them to come on board the ship. Behring, however, sent a boat on shore, into which they would not enter, but invited the Russians to land. Lieutenant Waxèl, who commanded the boat, sent on shore three men, one of whom was a Koriak interpreter, who was in no degree understood by them, but from his similar aspect was regarded as a friend. At length one ventured into the boat, and was presented with a glass

of brandy; but, instead of the expected relish, he was evidently affected with the most painful sensations, spit it out violently, and made loud cries to his countrymen on shore, apparently indignant at the wanton cruelty with which he had been tortured. Needles, beads, pipes, were in vain employed to appease him; and he insisted on immediately leaving the boat. Waxel now recalled his men; but this movement was opposed by the natives, who even took hold of the ropes, and endeavoured to pull the boat on shore. This enterprise the Russians baffled by cutting the rope; but the interpreter, who was still left on shore, loudly besought them to extricate him. For this purpose they discharged two blunderbusses, the sound of which, echoed by the mountains, so alarmed the natives, that they fell flat on the ground, and the interpreter got on board; though they soon rose, and showed great signs of anger at his escape. This did not prevent them from soon after coming out to the ship, which they would probably have been induced to enter, had not a breeze sprung up, and caused the Russians to sail onward.

Winter now approached, and the navigators held an anxious and difficult course along these extensive coasts, no point of which had ever been before seen by any of the crew. Contrary winds blew from the west; heavy fogs set in, through which they could neither see the sun by day nor the stars by night; and they encountered a storm of unusual severity and continuance. Through these obstructions the middle of October had arrived, and they were still on the American coast; while the scurvy began to break

forth under its most aggravated symptoms. A council was held to consider whether they should attempt to reach Asia, or should seek a home for the winter, even on this inhospitable shore. The first and worst advice prevailed; and they steered due westward in hopes of reaching Kamtschatka. On the 29th October they came to two small islands, which they took for part of the Kurile group, whereas they in fact belonged to that of the Aleutians. Through this most fatal mistake they quitted the direct course to Awatcha, which they were actually upon, and steered northward. Their distress now increased every day; the continual rains changed into hail and snow; and, obliged to work in the cold and wet, under despondence and depression, disease made rapid progress, and the whole crew were in the most infirm state. The steersman could not go to the helm without help; they durst not raise any press of sail, from fear of not having strength to take it down. They looked long and vainly for Kamtschatka; but at length there appeared an unknown coast, lofty, dreary, and white all over with snow, yet on which there was yet judged to reside their only chance of life. They were fortunate enough, after much difficulty, to cast anchor near the shore; but the hoisting out the boat in their present state was a most arduous task. They had neither materials nor power to build any thing like a house; but the impulse of necessity drove them to a sand-hill broken by a rivulet into several ditches or ravines, over which they spread sails, and formed a sort of miserable shelter. The question was now to move all the sick who were able to stand;

but several were in that fallacious state, when movement appears easy, but proves fatal; and they dropped down dead on deck, in the boat, or on their arrival on shore. Behring himself was carried to the land in a barrow by four men. This eminent commander was so far overcome by the disease, that he had lost all the strength of mind for which he had been remarkable. He declined exercise, and distrusted all about him; and thus his illness, continually increasing, terminated his life on the 8th December. He was already almost buried alive, the sand having fallen down the sides of the ravine, which, on account of the heat it afforded, he would not suffer to be removed till it came up to his breast; and he was obliged to be dug out, in order to obtain a regular interment. Thus perished, on a solitary island, in a distant ocean, the most eminent of the Russian navigators, whom his government long sought in vain to replace.

The party left on shore were now alarmed by an apprehension of scarcity of food, only a limited daily allowance of which was carried to the different ditches. This circumstance was perhaps fortunate, as it drove them to seek a supply among the huge finny tribes which abound on this shore, and whose flesh, though not very palatable, was, when compared to their salt allowance, almost a cure against the scurvy. The sea-cow or manati made the most agreeable food; but the sea-otter, though very tough, was more plentiful; and a large whale cast ashore served as a magazine in the absence of all other food. A violent storm loosened the ship from her cables, and drove her on shore, and as she could not be moved, it was necessary

to take her down, and construct a new one on a smaller scale, with which they set sail on the 10th August, and on the 27th arrived at Petropaulowsk, where they found an end of all their distresses.

Meantime Tchirikow, after the separation, had reached the American coast nearly in the same latitude with Behring. Seeing the shore bold, rocky, and without any point at which his men could approach, he sent on shore Abraham Dimentieu, with ten of his best sailors, to treat with the natives. The boat was seen rowing into a small bay, and gave the appointed signals; but several days elapsed, and the men appeared no more. The Russian commander then sent Sidor Sawelew, the boatswain, with the small boat, and with a carpenter to repair any damage which might have occasioned the delay of the large boat. They were seen to reach the shore, from which a great smoke was observed continually to arise; but neither large nor small boat ever returned. The Russians saw indeed two boats coming out, which they thought their own, and made joyful signals for departure; but they were natives, who called out, Agai, Agai, and seeing the deck covered with the Russian sailors, speedily turned back. Tchirikow regretted he had not shown only two or three of his men, by which the natives might have been allured on board, and some tidings obtained. The Russians now looked with hopeless eye on the coast, unapproachable to their large vessels, and to which they had no longer a boat to send. After being driven off by a westerly gale, they returned and hovered round in impotent anxiety for several days, when the recovery of their

comrades being considered as altogether hopeless, a counsel of officers was held, and they determined to return to Kamtschatka. They had a very hard voyage, and suffered severely by scurvy, to which twenty-one of the crew fell a sacrifice.*

The spirit of discovery in England was never more active and effective, than under the auspices of his late Majesty, George III. and when intrusted to the genius and enterprise of Cook. That most illustrious of exploratory navigators, in his two first voyages, nearly completed the survey of the central and southern hemisphere, and solved the grand problem of an Austral continent. As nothing seemed able to resist his energy and perseverance, he was now instructed, from the east and from the remotest tracts of the Pacific, to attempt the great standing object of a northern passage. America, north of Cape Mendocino, was an almost entirely unknown shore. Behring and Tchirikow had made only very partial surveys of it; and the relations of De Fuca and de Fonte, if they were received, exhibited vast openings, inspiring hopes which they were not to fulfil.

Captain Cook sailed out by the Cape, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, Otaheite, and the Sandwich islands. Steering then across to America, he came to Nootka or King George's Sound, in about 50° N. lat. He made interesting observations on this coast, and on the remarkable people who inhabited it; but we

* Muller, Voyages from Asia to America, transl. Jefferys, London, 1761.

shall not enter into the details of so well-known a voyage: these particulars will afterwards be found more fully observed by Captain Meares. He had been instructed, we know not exactly why, to abstain from any minute search till he came to 65° of N. latitude. He sailed on, therefore, without penetrating deep into any of the bays or inlets, and found everywhere a continuous coast, till he came to Cape Prince of Wales, which appeared and proved to be the most westerly point of America. Cook then sailed across to the country of the Tchutchi, and made some observations on this people, who differ strikingly from those on the opposite coast of America. He now seriously began the task of discovery, and, proceeding through Behring's Straits, soon found himself amid the well-known phenomena of the arctic seas; large islands and fields of ice, the huge form of the sea-horse or walrus, and frequent storms of snow. He reached nearly to the latitude of 70° 41′, but found an unbroken wall of ice, reaching across from continent to continent. Here, seeing a bold cape much encumbered with ice, forming apparently the north-west corner of America, he called it Icy Cape; and till Captain Beechey's recent voyage, it remained the boundary of European knowledge in this direction. Considering the season, though only the end of August, to be now too far advanced, he delayed till next summer the attempt to penetrate deep into the northern ocean.

Captain Cook returned to the Sandwich islands, where that fatal contest occurred in which this great commander lost his life. Captains Clerke and King,

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who succeeded in the command, left the Sandwich Islands on the 15th March, and stood direct for Behring's Straits. On the 3d July they saw East Cape still covered with snow, and in the evening the high-peaked hill forming Prince of Wales's Cape came in view, and they beheld at the same moment these grand extremities of the two continents. They proceeded nearly as far as Captain Cook had done, and beat about for some time from north to south, and from continent to continent, but a continued and connected field of ice rendered all their efforts fruitless. At length it was resolved that they should return, when it is admitted that joy brightened the countenance of every individual, and that they abandoned with delight a navigation of which they were heartily sick, and, after a dreary absence of three years, felt already as if they were in view of the Land's End.

The accounts brought by Captain Cook's expedition awakened the enterprise and hopes of a number of leading mercantile characters in Bengal, and particularly in Calcutta. They hoped to find there a copious supply of valuable furs, for which a sufficient market would be found in China, where, in the southern provinces, fur to a certain extent is a favourite article of dress. They fitted out, therefore, two vessels, the Nootka, under Captain John Meares, and the Sea-Otter, under Lieutenant Walter Tipping. As profit was the prime mover in this enterprise, it was impossible to resist the proffers made, first of three thousand rupees for the Sea-Otter to carry a cargo of opium to Malacca, and then of the same sum for the Nootka to convey the Paymaster-General to

Madras. The ships were, therefore, sent forthwith on these lucrative destinations, and to take the chance of meeting on the north-west coast of America.

Captain Meares, whom we are to follow, after depositing his charge, sailed direct to Malacca, but found the Sea-Otter already departed and on her way to America. He followed without delay. His principle seems to have been, after clearing China and getting into the Pacific, to steer directly north for the Aleutian isles, and navigate along them to the American coast. He passed near the islands of Japan without seeing any of them, and it appeared to him that he passed the sites of islands laid down in the map without seeing any; but so thick a fog continually involved him, that he could scarcely judge of any thing. After they had proceeded far to the north, and the fog was still thick around, they were alarmed by the sound of a loud surge beating on a rocky coast, of which the mist allowed them only dim glimpses, showing it to be elevated and covered with snow. They immediately drew off in an opposite direction, but two hours after were alarmed and repelled by a similar sound. Thus they were long tossed about, feeling that they were in the midst of fatal shores, but not knowing how to escape. At length the fog dispersing, justified their fears by showing land of tremendous height, two-thirds covered with snow, and faced with lofty perpendicular rocks, amid which they were so situated as to make it appear almost miraculous that they should have escaped. However, the wind favouring, they made their way through the straits between Unamak and Oonalashka, against a

current that was running seven knots an hour. Russian officers, they learned, came to these islands in galliots of fifty tons, and were relieved every eight years; during which time they amused themselves as they best could with hunting and fishing. The natives were obliged to deliver up all their choicest furs to government, receiving in return a little snuff, with which they were perfectly content. The houses, both of the Russians and natives, consisted of holes dug in the earth, and entered from the top by steps cut in a post. The first officer and surgeon, in taking a walk through the fields, were much surprised when they sunk, and found themselves in the midst of a crowded household, who fled with screams of alarm.

The Nootka now sailed across to America, and reached Prince William's Sound; but symptoms of winter were commencing, and the weather had become so tempestuous, that it was at their utmost peril to proceed farther along this steep and dangerous shore. Their only other alternative was to reach the Sandwich islands; but that was a quarter so excessively agreeable, that the sailors, who were beginning already to show symptoms of insubordination, would, it was feared, never leave it; and Captain Meares conceived it due to his employers to winter amid these huge and dreary rocks of the north. For some time they fared very tolerably; the natives were friendly at least from fear, and brought supplies of delicate mutton; they were well stocked with game, and salmon in abundance was either caught by the seine or knocked on the head with clubs. By the 5th of November, however, winter set in with all its rigour;

the immense mountains were white with snow to the water's edge; the ducks and geese, which had so plentifully supplied their tables, were seen in regular flights winging their way to the south. The sun at noon being only six degrees above the horizon, while the mountains to the south were twenty-two degrees, they enjoyed only a faint and disastrous twilight. Their health remained unbroken during November and December; but in January the scurvy began to appear under its most terrible symptoms, and before the end of the month four had died. There was no food except salt beef and pork, of the very sight of which the sailors were sick. The only remedy consisted in the juice of the pine, the steady use of which was effectual; but it was so nauseous and even difficult to retain on the stomach, that the sailors rejected both it and exercise, declaring their resolution rather to die at their ease. In May the crew was greatly thinned, and the survivors in the utmost distress, when Sheneway, King of the Sound, came and informed them that two English ships were in sight, which proved to be those commanded by Captains Portlock and Dixon. They were welcomed as guardian angels with tears of joy; but it is complained that they drove an excessively hard bargain for the somewhat scanty supplies which they afforded. Portlock, considering them as rivals, made it a condition that they should not trade on the coast. Captain M., therefore, on the 21st June, left this dreary sound, where he had buried twenty-three of his people, and sailed for the Sandwich islands, where their health

was soon recruited, and whence they returned to India.

The natives of this Sound were about five or six hundred, who wandered continually from place to place, without any fixed town or village. They were a strong, raw-boned, rather tall race, and had the usual American and Tartar features, flat face, high small cheek-bones, and small black eyes. Their savage aspect was wonderfully heightened by the use of various ornamental processes, such as the red paint with which they besmeared their faces, the numerous pieces of bone and shell which depended from their nose and ears, and a large slit made in their under-lip parallel to the mouth, and resembling a lower mouth, and into which they stuck pieces of shell in imitation of teeth. They showed the usual savage pride in the endurance of bodily pain. A native having had his foot severely cut by pieces of broken shell thrown out of the ship, the sailors were applying themselves earnestly to cure the wound; but he and a companion laughed at their care, and began cutting their legs and arms with the shell in every direction, to show that nothing of the kind could affect them. In traffic, iron was their favourite article, especially when its form made any approach to that of a spear; after which ranked glass beads.

The disasters of this voyage did not deter Captain Meares from a second attempt. In January, 1788, he, in conjunction with several East India merchants, fitted out two vessels, the Felice and Iphigenia, of 230 and 200 tons. We shall pass over his voyage and

his stay at the Philippines and the Sandwich islands. After many vicissitudes, he came in view of King George's Sound, where he discovered Friendly Cove, a commodious harbour. The natives came down in crowds, and an interesting scene was now to take place. Comekela, one of their number, had been brought away in the former voyage; and he prepared to exhibit himself to his countrymen with all the brilliant appendages derived from his intercourse with the civilized world. The following passage gives a lively illustration of the different value set upon objects in the different states of society :—

"Comekela now arrayed himself in all his glory. His scarlet coat was decorated with such quantities of brass buttons and pieces of copper as could not fail to procure him the most profound respect from his countrymen. At least half a sheet of copper formed his breastplate, from his ears copper ornaments were suspended, and he contrived to hang from his hair, which was dressed *en queue*, so many handles of copper saucepans, that his head was kept back by the weight of them in such a stiff and upright position as very much to heighten the singularity of his appearance. For various articles of his present pride Comekela had been in a state of perpetual hostility with the cook, from whom he had contrived to purloin them; but their last and most desperate struggle was for an enormous spit, which the American had seized as a spear, to swell that magnificence with which he was about to dazzle the eyes of his countrymen; and, situated as we were, this important article of culinary service could not be denied him. In

such a state of accoutrement, and feeling as much delight as ever fed the pride of the most splendid thrones of Europe or the East, we set out with him for the shore, when a general shout and cry from the village assured him of the universal joy which was felt on his return."

Comekela was immediately invited to the palace, where a magnificent feast of whale's flesh and blubber was prepared, which was devoured by the great nobles with the most eager avidity; but Comekela's vitiated palate could no longer do full justice to these elegant luxuries.

The report of the arrival of the English, it appears, soon spread over the coast, and in a few days a sound of loud but pleasing melody was heard along the waters. Presently twelve war-canoes, with eighteen men in each, were seen entering the cove. The warriors were arrayed in full pomp, with most beautiful sea-otter skins, their hair powdered with the white down of birds, and their faces bedaubed with red and black ochre. After they had twice paraded round the ship in musical pomp, a canoe came alongside. On board were the two chiefs, Maquilla and Callicum, already known by the report of Captain Cook. Their appearance immediately gained the confidence and attachment of the crews. On receiving some presents of copper and iron, they took off their sea-otter garments, and threw them in the most graceful manner at the feet of their guests, remaining themselves in a purely natural state. This mutual cordiality was continually augmented in the course of several weeks, which were employed in repairing

and refitting the vessels, in which the natives most cheerfully assisted. Callicum, in particular, is represented as displaying all that refined elegance of mind and conduct which could adorn the most civilized circle. Yet, when we consider that this elegant and amiable chief slept nightly on a pillow of human skulls, from which there was some ground to surmise that he had eaten off the flesh, we cannot but feel our admiration and sympathy somewhat abated. It appears, that afterwards, when the Spanish vessels, under Don J. S. Martinez, came off the coast, Callicum went on board the Princessa with a present of fish; but, not being received in a manner which appeared to him respectful, he went away with some indignant and threatening expressions. This was so far resented, that a ball was discharged from the ship, which pierced him through the heart, and he fell into the sea. His son presently came out, entreating permission to search under the ship for the body of his unfortunate father; but it was not till after a large present of skins, that the Spaniards would grant this melancholy boon.

During the continuance of the vessels in this sound, an event occurred which occasioned the most painful sensations. A boat from another part of the coast came in, and, after some of the ordinary forms of traffic, a human hand, dried and shrivelled, was tendered for sale. Scarcely had the sailors recovered from the shuddering horror occasioned by this offer, when it was heightened by discovering, suspended from the ear of one of the men, a seal belonging to Mr Millar of the Imperial Eagle. That unfortunate gentleman

was already known, in 1787, to have been sent to the coast in a boat, which perished under the most dreadful circumstances. At these sights the minds of the sailors were worked up almost to a state of frenzy, and they could scarcely be prevented from proceeding to the utmost extremities against the crew; yet they were assured by Callicum and Maquilla, that these horrid articles had been received merely in the way of barter from the natives of a bay called Queenhithe, which had been the real scene of this dreadful tragedy.

During the stay of the expedition in St George's Sound, it was visited by Wiçananish, a chief who stated himself, and was admitted to be, more powerful than Maquilla, and capable of furnishing sea-otter skins and valuable furs in greater abundance. Captain Meares therefore could not hesitate to accept his invitation to visit him in his cove. On the 11th June they took leave of their friendly chiefs, with mutual presents, and proceeded to the southward. On the 13th they espied a large fleet of canoes, which proved to belong to Wicananish, who undertook to pilot them to his capital. He conducted them to a roadstead, diversified with numerous inlets; over one of which appeared a village nearly three times as large as that of Maquilla, and behind which there appeared an immense and unbroken forest. The people came out with a stock of fish, onions, and berries, and on landing they were admitted to the house or palace of Wiçanish. The interior presented a singular scene of spacious and savage magnificence. It consisted of a large square, raised by

huge planks to the height of twenty feet, and bordered by a bench, on which the family of the chief, to the immense number of eight hundred, sate, ate, slept, and performed all the functions of life. Enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported by gigantic images, formed out of huge blocks of timber. So vast were these images, that the mouth of one of them formed the door, and though sufficiently large to fulfil its function, did not appear disproportionate to the other parts of the figure. At one end was a raised platform, occupied by the chiefs and other natives of rank, filled with large chests containing the royal treasure, and adorned, even beyond the rest of the apartment, with festoons of human skulls, studiously arrayed in an ornamental manner. In the centre were wooden vessels filled with water, in which were placed pieces of whale and other fish, made to boil by red-hot stones put into them. Before each person were placed dishes of whale, fish-oil, and fish-soup, which were devoured in enormous quantities, and with extraordinary rapidity. As soon as the party had finished this elegant repast, Captain Meares drew forth his gifts, which consisted chiefly of blankets, and two copper tea-kettles; which last were accounted so precious, that they were immediately deposited in the royal coffers, consisting of large chests adorned with human teeth. Fifty men then came forward, and presented each a sea-otter skin six feet long, and jet black; which were received by the English with joy, as forming a most ample return for their own slender donations. At the close of the banquet, un-

expectedly appeared the ladies, in several of whom native beauty, enhanced by an air of modesty, predominated even over the oil and ochre with which they sought to embellish it. Happily there remained a few beads and ear-rings, which being presented to these royal damsels, made a grateful close of their visit.

The English complain of the extreme keenness of traffic among the North West Americans, and how impossible it was to avoid being overreached by them; but, considering how ill apprised the one party was of the real value of the articles, the other, we suspect, made exceedingly good bargains. Having in exchange for bits of iron, copper kettles, beads, powder, and a few pistols, obtained all the valuable skins and furs which Wicananish possessed, or could negotiate from his neighbours, they stood to the southward in search of more. They came to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which they entered, and took possession of in name of the king of Great Britain, though the very title implies a belief that neither they nor any English had been the first discoverers. It was lofty, crowned with immense forests, and lined with a rocky beach, against which the sea dashed with tremendous fury. The awful force of the south-easterly winds blowing across the whole Pacific was made evident by entire forests which had been overthrown, and were lying, with their roots and branches intermingled, in a long line to the north-west. The channel being filled with rocky islets, and affording no shelter, they stood out and proceeded southward. With awful sensations, they dis-

covered the bay and river of Queenhithe; but a thick and gloomy mist hid the village from their view, and as they passed, neither canoes nor inhabitants were seen, and a deep silence reigned. But they could plainly descry Queenvitell, consisting of a number of houses scattered over the face of a high perpendicular rock. Destruction Island cheered them with some aspect of verdure; but, in their attempt to weather this island a heavy sea drifted them in upon it, and they were frozen with terror at the idea of being cast upon this fatal shore.

The English continued to sail to the southward, along a bold coast, studded with numerous villages; and there appeared even a succession of bays, which afforded the most favourable promise of harbours; but a nearer approach always dispelled this flattering appearance, and their feelings were expressed by the names of Shoalwater Bay, Deception Bay, and Disappointment Cape, given to these successive points. Farther on, however, the face of the country entirely changed; many spots were covered with the richest verdure; spacious bowers and hanging woods everywhere met the delighted eye. But while the gloomy and dreary crags of the north were faced with numerous hives of human beings, not a mortal appeared to inhabit the fertile slopes of New Albion. They had no opportunity of tracing how this singular fact happened, and whether, as seems most probable, the habitations might not be situated in the interior. After another disappointment in attempting to explore Quicksand Bay, the vessel turned back to its northern station. In repassing the Straits of De

Fuca, they sent up the long-boat to examine it; but the absence of the crew lasted so long as to occasion considerable anxiety, which was at last relieved by the appearance of the boat with all her men, but in a very wounded and shattered condition. In approaching the land, they had been assailed by two canoes of forty or fifty warriors, while the body of the people lined the shore, and poured upon them continual discharges of stones and arrows. For some time they fought for their lives; several were wounded in the head, leg, and even near the heart, and the rest were bruised in a terrible manner with stones and clubs; while the boat and awning were pierced with a thousand arrows. The chief, however, was struck through the head with a ball, and the rest fled, without having inflicted any deadly wound. The English, in descending the strait, met a boat of Wicananish, from which were held up for sale two human heads, still streaming with blood; and the disgust and horror which they manifested at this spectacle were met by shouts of savage exultation.

On the return of Captain Meares to Nootka Sound, a still more serious affair occurred. Strong symptoms of mutiny, which had made their appearance in the early part of the voyage, broke out afresh, and were suppressed with great difficulty. The offenders, as a punishment, were turned on shore; and Maquilla and Callicum, after a friendly offer of putting them to death, were sanctioned in their proposal of taking them into their household,—a plan which turned entirely to their benefit. The mutineers were stripped of all their valuable clothes, and being reduced to the

state of slaves, were employed in the most menial offices, and fed only with the refuse of fish. These prodigal children, reduced to such miserable husks, soon transmitted expressions of the deepest contrition; and were, after reiterated entreaties, allowed to return in a humbled state, and to be kept under strict *surveillance.*

During his stay on this coast, Captain Meares purchased spots of ground, both from Maquilla and Wicananish, on which he erected factories, capable of defence against any rude attack which the natives could make. He built also, from the copious materials afforded by the country, a vessel called "the North-West America." Having returned to China with an ample cargo, he formed more extensive connexions, and revisited the coast in the following years with additional vessels, and with ample cargoes of toys, iron, copper utensils, and cast-off clothes, fitted for this savage market. In May, 1789, however, a Spanish squadron under Don J. Martinez arrived, and captured all these vessels, under the pretence that Spain held the sovereignty of the whole of this coast as far as the 60th degree. This outrage, being submitted to the British parliament, produced a warm discussion between the two nations, and, under the threat of war, the Spaniards were compelled to lower these lofty pretensions, and to confine their claims within the actual limits of New Mexico, terminating in the 40th degree at Cape Mendosino.

The whole of this part of America presented a coast of the most elevated and rugged aspect. The

mountains, which rose to a great height, were covered with one unbroken forest, whose gloomy monotony was only varied by pinnacles of perpetual snow. There was not the least attempt at culture; but the ground yielded spontaneously, and in the greatest abundance, berries similar to ours, gooseberry, strawberry, and raspberry, the last of which was extremely delicious. It was to the sea, however, that the Nootkaers looked for their most regular supply, both of food and luxuries. All the finny tribes, from the whale to the herring, swarm to an extraordinary degree; and battles were often seen among these huge tenants of the deep, the noise of which filled the air. The smaller fishes were taken by the inferior ranks,—a task very easy, for which it was often only necessary to draw through the sea a rake with long and pointed teeth. But the chiefs undertook the nobler task of combating the whale, the sea-cow, and the sea-lion. Their canoes, capable of holding fifteen or twenty persons, were constructed and even ornamented with great skill, though only with stone-utensils; and all their fishing-implements displayed great ingenuity. The harpoon, though composed only of bone and muscle-shell, was made extremely sharp, and admirably performed its function. The seal was attracted by putting on wooden masks framed to so exact a resemblance of his head, that, mistaking it for a brother-seal, he unwarily approached so near as to be easily killed. The fatty and oleaginous flesh of these animals affords to the Nootkaers the richest and most delicious fare. Their ornamental clothing is furnished by the sea-

otter, an animal which seems peculiar to the shores of the northern Pacific. Unlike the coarse tegument of other marine animals, his skin or fur, in richness, softness, and beauty, rivals that of the ermine itself. The natives are almost in continual chase of him, which is carried on with great difficulty, as he moves with a rapidity with which no boat can keep pace. But he is subject to the fatal necessity of coming up at short intervals for respiration; under favour of which occasions he is surrounded and struck. The young cubs have only a coarse white hair, which gradually improves till, at a certain age, it arrives at perfection, and then is of a deep rich black colour, with streaks of silvery white; but as the animal grows old, the colour changes to a dingy brown. The chief object of European trade is for these skins; the demand for which in China is almost unlimited, though the Chinese are extremely fastidious as to their quality.

By these resources a population is supported, which, though it cannot be compared with that of a civilized society, is much more dense than that of the interior districts. The subjects of Callicum were estimated at 10,000; those of Wicananish at 13,000, while Tatootche ruled an island containing 3000. The government appeared nearly absolute; and Maquilla ruled the outer villages by vice-queens, consisting chiefly of his own relations, his mother, grandmother, and sisters. The lower class were little better than slaves, being employed in humble and menial offices. They presented the usual American features, flat visages, high cheek-bones,

and small eyes; but their complexion, as formerly noticed, instead of the deep imbrowned red which prevails over the New World, was almost as fair as that of Europeans. This indeed could be ill discerned when they were in full dress for war, festival, or the pursuit of the whale, when their visages, besmeared with large stripes of red ochre, streaming with fish-oil, and sometimes glittering with a species of black sand, became perfectly hideous; but when they could be caught in any species of dishabille, which, with the ladies especially, was rare and difficult, they were by no means devoid of some personal attractions. The female sex behaved with a modesty and propriety which is very rare, especially in Western America. This particularly appeared, when, as a large party of them rowed past in a boat, a rash young man leaped into it; upon which they all, with one movement, threw themselves into the sea, and swam to land. In these tribes was strikingly observed the usual phenomenon of savage manners,—mildness and even amenity in domestic intercourse, combined with the fiercest and direst enmity against all whom they viewed as national enemies. Yet the belief that they actually fed on the bodies of their slaughtered foes has been perhaps too hastily formed. The exhibition of mangled limbs for sale is doubtless abundantly horrid; but the very circumstance of these being sometimes presented in a dried and shrivelled state appears to imply, that they were destined rather as savage trophies than for the darker purpose suspected. It is, however, said to have positively been confessed by Maquilla, that, for the mere gratification

of his palate, he monthly killed and ate a slave, caught by running blindfold among a circle of these unfortunate victims; but if we must really believe this, perhaps it may be considered rather as a mad caprice of this much-extolled chief, than as a general custom of the nation.

Though the voyage of Captain Meares had not the North-West Passage at all for its object, and he had no instructions to make any inquiry into that celebrated question, he has annexed to his narrative a memoir which revived in England the idea and expectation of its being actually found. The whole of this high north-west coast, as observed both by him and by those who sailed under his direction, was found to present no sort of continuity, but to be everywhere broken by large islands and by deep sounds and channels. The impression thus arose, that it was not a continent at all, but formed part of an immense archipelago of islands; and it appeared not improbable, that the whole space to Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits might be of the same character, and that through these numerous channels a passage might open from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The discoveries made by Hearne, with some other observations transmitted from Hudson's Bay, tended to fortify this impression.

Swayed by these considerations, the British government determined to fit out a fresh expedition for the purpose of thoroughly exploring North-West America in reference to this grand object. The command was very judiciously intrusted to Captain Vancouver,

an officer trained in the school of Cook, whom he had accompanied in his last voyage, and thus possessed already an extensive knowledge of the coasts which he was appointed to explore. He was also intrusted with the subsidiary object of resuming possession of the forts which had been seized by the Spaniards, but which, by recent treaty, they had agreed to cede.

Captain Vancouver sailed from Britain in 1790, and in the following year reached the Sandwich Islands. Several years were spent by him between these islands and the north-western main; the whole line of which he examined in the most complete manner that perhaps any coast was ever surveyed. Instructed not to encroach on any point where the Spaniards had formed settlements, or to which they seemed to have a legitimate claim, he began his survey from Cape Mendicino, in about 41°. The natives of this coast appeared to have little that was savage, either in appearance or behaviour. Their colour was light olive, and their features almost European. Vancouver sailed northward to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, a space of 219 leagues; during which he never lost sight of the surf which dashed on the shore, took daily either one or two observations of meridional altitude, and noted the position of all conspicuous points. He was thus enabled to lay down with perfect accuracy a coast, the form and direction of which had hitherto been almost conjectural. He sought in vain any opening which could afford to his vessels the slightest shelter; the whole coast presented a close impenetrable barrier against any

approach from the sea. Vancouver then entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and in the course of his voyages ascertained that it was the entrance into a long narrow channel, having the continent on the east, and on the west an extensive island, in which were situated both Nootka and the territory of Wicananish. To this island were given the joint names of himself and of Quadra, a Spanish navigator then employed in a similar survey. The sound, which received the name of Queen Charlotte, opened, at its north-western extremity, into the wide expanse of the Pacific, and offered no prospect of a passage across America.

The greatest part, however, of Captain Vancouver's time was employed in exploring that labyrinth of islands, sounds, and inlets, which extend between the fiftieth and sixtieth degrees of latitude — Queen Charlotte, Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and Admiralty Islands; Cross Sound, Duke of York's Sound, Admiralty Inlet, &c. None of them could escape the diligence of our navigator, who traced all to their head, and ascertained that the coast was throughout continuous. Still farther on he ascended Cook's River, as it was called, and found it to be a close Sound. His observations, now combined with those which he had made in company with Cook, effected the survey of this coast, and established that there was in it no opening or passage by which it was possible to penetrate into the western waters. Vancouver found at home some reluctance to receive his testimony, and complains of the enthusiasm of modern *closet*-philosophy, which refused to admit the best-ascertained facts militating against

its theories; but the accuracy of his report is now universally acknowledged.

Russia, from the time when Behring and Tchirikow discovered the extreme coasts of North-Western America, laid claim to that coast as a portion of her territory. She even began early to attempt forming settlements there; but when Cook was on these shores, all her efforts, through the enmity of the savage natives, had been unsuccessful and even disastrous. They have since renewed these under more favourable auspices; and their claim to a large extent of this angle of America has been recognised in the diplomacy of civilized Europe. Not only, however, did they leave to the British flag the glory of exploring nearly the whole extent of the coast, and fixing its bearings and its boundaries, but also more especially the search on this side of the world for a North-Western Passage. At length, Russia began to feel that this was her proper province. An expedition was prepared, not, however, by the government, but by a patriotic individual of vast opulence, Count Romanzoff. That nobleman fitted out Lieutenant Kotzebue, son to the celebrated dramatic writer of that name, with a small armament; destined, however, not to cross the difficult and encumbered tract of Siberia, but to make the circuit by Cape-Horn; for Russia must more than circumnavigate the globe before she can reach by sea that distant extremity of her shores. To accomplish this extensive voyage, Kotzebue was sent with an equipment more commensurate with the infant efforts of modern navigation, than with the grand scale

on which naval discoveries have since been conducted. The whole array consisted of the Rurick, a vessel of a hundred tons, and twenty-two men, among whom were a surgeon and botanist. The Rurick touched at Plymouth, which it left on the 15th October, 1815. It then proceeded by the Atlantic round Cape-Horn, and, after touching at Easter Island and some other detached spots, but not at any of the great groups of the Pacific, arrived on the 19th June, 1816, at Awatcha. Kotzebue soon pushed to the northward, and on the 30th July had passed Behring's Straits and Cape Prince of Wales. He found himself on a low shore, covered with luxuriant herbage, and seemingly well-peopled. The natives had tolerable wooden houses; which, however, they abandoned on the approach of the Russians, and whenever they were seen, appeared fierce and hostile, making hideous grimaces, with menacing gestures and attitudes: their appearance, like that of all the inhabitants of this shore, was filthy and disgusting.

Kotzebue, on the 1st August, saw on his right, in about lat. 68°, a broad passage, with a rapid current running into it, which inspired him with the hope that he might be at the mouth of the great and long-sought-for passage. He accordingly entered, mounted a hill, and, looking to the eastward, saw nothing but sea within the utmost scope of the eye. He devoted a fortnight to making the complete circuit of this great Sound, to which, by just title, he affixed his name. No opening, however, of any consequence was found, except one in a quarter which made it almost certainly appear to communicate with Norton

Sound, on the Pacific coast, and which was thus of no significance in reference to the question of a passage to the Atlantic.

The Russians had scarcely entered this inlet, when they received a visit from the natives. These last were in five boats, each of which had eight or ten men, and in their first approach uttered loud cries; but, seeing the Russians approach in friendly but cautious guise, they squatted down in a large circle, and with looks of mingled distrust, curiosity, and astonishment. Kotzebue entered into the circle, and made a distribution of tobacco; when, to his great surprise, these people, who were supposed strangers to all the habits of civilized life, drew out their pipes, and showed themselves fully initiated in all the mysteries of smoking. This they had learned from the Tchutchi. Their delight rose to its highest pitch on the presentation of knives and scissors; the last of which, being quite a new article, was passed from hand to hand, and its temper tried on the hair of each of the party. They were found to belong to the remarkable race of the Esquimaux, who occupy the whole of the shores of Arctic America, everywhere braving the frightful rigour of its climate, clothing themselves in the skins and feeding on the fat and blood of the huge amphibia with which nature has so profusely stocked those seas,—a dirty, merry, good-humoured, flat-faced, ugly race, not destitute of curiosity or intelligence.

Before Kotzebue emerged from this Sound, he found that the best part of the season had been, perhaps injudiciously, consumed in its examination.

He thought it now too late, or at least did not attempt, to penetrate farther to the north; but, crossing to Asia, spent some time among the Tchutchi, whence he proceeded to Oonalashka, and then to winter along the Coral Islands of the Pacific. He returned next season to Behring's Straits; but found his health so much impaired as to render him unfit to stand the rigours of the Arctic Circle, in consequence of which he turned back, and directed his way homewards.

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERIES MADE IN AND FROM HUDSON'S BAY.

Voyage of Fox—of James—Settlement of Hudson's Bay—the Hudson's Bay Company—Voyage by Knight—by Middleton—by Moor and Smith—Hearne's Journey to the Northern Ocean—Mackenzie's Journeys to the North and the West.

THE report of Baffin, on his return from his last voyage, seems to have strongly impressed the public with the belief, that nothing further could be hoped from the great bay or sea which divides its name between him and Davis. The chief attention was now directed to Hudson's Bay; but this soon came to be as much at least in the view of settlement and commerce as of discovery. Before any decisive steps, however, were taken with these last objects, another spirited attempt was made to reach the Pacific through the yet unexplored channels of this immense bay. Luke Fox, a bold and enterprising sailor, with some rather misplaced pretensions to literature and wit, was seized with an enthusiastic zeal in the cause, and, through the influence of Sir Thomas Roe,

Sir John Worsenholm, and other gentlemen, who had never ceased to be the patrons of northern navigation, he obtained from Charles I. the use of a vessel, being even desired to make a choice of any which would best suit his purpose. He pitched upon the Charles, a pinnace of eighty tons and twenty men, and went out provided, not with the ship only, but with ample stores,—beef, beer, wheaten bread, Iceland ling, sack, aquavitæ, spices, sugar, syrups, gums, plaster, and purging pills; the whole being reckoned a sufficient supply for eighteen months. The king, moreover, in parting, presented him with a map of all his predecessors' discoveries, and with a letter to the Emperor of Japan.

Fox left Deptford on the 5th May, 1631, and on the 20th June arrived at the opening of Lumley's Inlet. Through these straits and the obstacles which they presented he pushed with extraordinary ardour. One of his officers asking, whyhe was in such furious haste? he replied, "It fared with him as with the mackarell-men of London, who must hasten to market before thē fish stinke." In fact, there was little time to lose before the closing of the short arctic summer. As soon as he had reached Salisbury Island, and the sea began to open upon him, he remarked the extraordinary aberration of the compass which, he observes, "doth almost lose his sensitive part," and respecting which he forms some rather fanciful theories. It may be owing, he supposes, to "the sharpness of the air interposing between the needle and his sensitive point;" or elsewhere he conjectures, "here may be some mountains of the one side or the

other, whose mineral may detaine the nimblenesse of the needle's moving to his respective point; but this I leave to philosophy;" which, after all, cannot say much more on the subject. Under the titles also of "henban and petit dancers" he describes the brilliant coruscations of the aurora borealis, with which the northern skies were lighted.

Fox, about the beginning of August, found himself on the eastern coast of Hudson's Bay, and in that great northern opening called the Welcome. The tide, which here came down from the north, led to the well-grounded presumption, that there must be an open passage through which it came; but, instead of acting upon this just view of the subject, he, for very insufficient reasons, was induced to move southward. He entered Nelson's River, where Button had wintered, and explored several other inlets, till he became satisfied that nothing of what he sought was to be found in that quarter. He then again steered northward across the bay, till he came to Carey's Swan's Nest, on the southern point of Southampton Island. He then sailed along the eastern shore of that great mass of land, through the large opening which from him has since been named the Fox Channel; but, on reaching a point which he designated by the name of "Fox's Farthest," the season was found too much advanced to admit of his proceeding farther in such a latitude. Hereupon he drew the conclusion, "that he had made a scurvy voyage of it," and gave up farther thought of northern adventure. Yet he had already twice, first in the Welcome, and then in his

own channel, been in a fair train for important discoveries, if he had not allowed himself to be unseasonably drawn off in other directions.

Meantime the merchants of Bristol, always ambitious to rival London, and regarding America somewhat as their peculiar sphere, fitted out a separate expedition, and gave the command of it to Captain James. They asked only from the king, and obtained without difficulty, a letter to the emperor of Japan. The two expeditions seem, however, to have been more ambitious to rival than to aid each other. Fox, who met James near the mouth of the Welcome, holds somewhat light of his attainments. He admits him, indeed, to have been a practitioner in the mathematics, who understood the art of calculating and observing; but the merchants, in his apprehension, had not shown much wisdom, when, on account of these speculative qualities, they selected a man who knew not how to steer a ship, especially through such perilous latitudes. James very coolly, however, told Fox, that he was going to the emperor of Japan with letters from his majesty; to which the other replied, not without some good ground, "But you are out of the way to Japan, for this is not it." Soon after, James was overtaken by severe gales, and being unaccustomed to, and unskilled in steering his way through the huge masses of ice which were tossing about in every direction, he could not preserve the ship from repeated and severe shocks, which made her more than once be given up for lost; however, without much skill or activity on his part, some seasonable circumstance always occurred to re-

lieve her. Moving continually to the southward, he came at last to the bay bearing his own name, which forms the most southern extremity of Hudson's Bay; and here the crew, hopeless of returning to Britain, made up their mind to winter on what is now called Charlton's Island. On this spot, in lat. 52°, several degrees south of Edinburgh, they suffered an extremity of cold the most severe almost of any on record. Very little either of skill or knowledge appears to have been employed in warding off its effects; yet the facts seem sufficient to establish the very great difference of temperature between the old and the new continents. The sailors were frozen all over, faces, hair, and apparel; noses and fingers became suddenly as white as paper, and blisters were raised as large as walnuts. The plasters froze at their wounds, and the sack in its way to their mouths. All their liquids at length became solid, and were cut with a hatchet: the ice reached within a yard of the fire. This severe cold, with the other disadvantageous circumstances, produced in spring the usual effect of a severe attack of scurvy; and the death of the carpenter greatly damped their prospects of being able to refit the vessel. However, in April it was necessary that all hands should go to work, and, proceeding with commendable activity, they made her ready for sea on the 1st of July. Much was suffered from ice in navigating the bay, and, on approaching the mouth of the straits, all on board concurred in the opinion that no time was to be lost in bending their way homeward. On this judgment they forthwith acted, and on the 23d October arrived at Bristol, when they made the most

gloomy report as to the possibility or comfort of any arctic navigation to India.

It had not hitherto, unless in the abortive attempt of Frobisher, been made an object to colonize these extreme northern shores of America. The boldest settler shrunk from the view of this desolate region, where life could scarcely be maintained against the dreadful intensity of cold, and where the soil, under no culture, could be made to yield either luxuries for commerce, or even necessaries for the subsistence of any considerable body of emigrants. Nature, however, who studiously compensates her good and ill, had here provided a home for vast crowds of the animal creation, and had fenced them against the climate by a covering, the splendour and rich softness of which art cannot rival. The furs of the north, without any aid from art, afford to man at once his most comfortable and magnificent attire. The fur-trade, therefore, offered a fair promise of wealth. The French, who were then masters of Canada, seemed the people within whose sphere it naturally lay; and Grosseliez, an enterprising individual, undertook a voyage, and landed in Nelson's River, where he found, it is said, a few settlers from Boston, reduced to a very miserable state. Having made a survey of the country, he drew up a statement, which he laid before the French court, representing the great advantages which might be derived from a settlement upon this coast. The French cabinet, prepossessed by the doleful narrative of James's sufferings, treated the project as visionary, and turned a deaf ear to his repeated and urgent representations. But Mr. Montague, the English mi-

nister at Paris, took a different view of the matter, and sent Grosseliez with a letter to Prince Rupert,—an enterprising individual, always ready to patronize any public-spirited scheme. Prince Rupert, representing to the king the fair promise of this undertaking, obtained the grant of a ship with which Captain Zachariah Gillam, accompanied by Grosseliez, set sail in the summer of 1668. Gillam, in September of that year, arrived in Hudson's Bay, and, entering a river to which he gave the name of Rupert, erected a small stone fort, which he named *Fort Charles*, but which did not ultimately become a leading position. Next year the Prince obtained from Charles a charter in favour of himself and nine other persons, conveying an exclusive right to form settlements, and carry on trade in Hudson's Bay. This corporation, formed upon principles then prevalent, but which have been renounced in most other instances, remains in its utmost force, and continues to shut this part of the dominions of Britain against the great body of her people. Forster alleges, that the Company have made a most inordinate use of their privilege; that in exchange for the value of £4000 of British goods exported, furs and other articles have been received from the Indians which sell in England for £120,000, making a profit of three thousand per cent. According to other accounts the one sum is not quite so small, nor the other so enormous; and the profits have been probably diminishing from the effects of rivalry and of the knowledge gradually acquired by the Indians. After allowance is made for the expenses of forts and shipping, and for the mismanagement to which all such

associations are liable, it becomes very credible, that the clear proceeds may be by no means of an enormous magnitude.

This Company, by their charter, were taken bound to use their most strenuous exertions for the discovery of the Strait of Anian and the north-west passage; notwithstanding which it has been confidently averred, that all their efforts were devoted to the prevention of any such discovery. Hearne, however, alleges that Dobbs, Robson, and other zealots in this cause, threw indiscriminately upon the Company the blame of every failure, however inevitable. They certainly did something, though not always with the best grace. John Knight, who had been governor of one of their forts, having heard of a rich mine of copper on a navigable river to the northward, came over to England, and solicited from the Company an expedition for the purpose of discovering this mine and the Strait of Anian. The Company were found extremely cold on the subject; but Knight, animated by enthusiastic zeal, warned them of his determination of appealing to the crown, and even bringing their charter into doubt, if they refused to fulfil this part of its terms. The Company were thus at length impelled to apply themselves to fit out an expedition, which they did, in 1721, on a very liberal scale. It consisted of two vessels, the naval command of which was committed to Barlow and Vaughan; but the entire direction of the expedition, with a view to its objects, was intrusted to Knight. A year elapsed without any tidings; but as they had been provided with a portable house, and a good store of provisions, it was not

at first thought possible that any serious accident could have befallen them. Another year, however, elapsed, and, notwithstanding the sanguine hopes of some that they might have passed into the Pacific, and be coming round by Cape Horn, serious alarms began to be felt. Captain Scroggs, of the Whalebone, was sent out to seek traces of them; but he arrived late, and is alleged not to have made a very strict search: certainly he learned nothing whatever. Upwards of forty years elapsed, and then the sad secret of their fate was disclosed. In 1767, two whale-fishing boats, which had been sent to Marble Island, near the entrance of the Welcome, discovered a new harbour there; and on landing, the ground appeared strewed with the memorials of that dreadful catastrophe,—guns, anchors, cables, bricks, and many other articles, which, being of no use to the natives, had been lying there ever since. They even traced some remains of the house, and at length discovered the bottoms of the two ships lying under water. Two years after, Hearne met here a party of Esquimaux, several of whom, being very old, remembered all the particulars of this sad tragedy. The English had arrived late in the year, and with the ships apparently much damaged; but on landing they immediately began putting up the house. They were again seen in the following spring; but their original number of fifty had been greatly reduced by severe sickness. They were, however, very busy, the natives knew not well in what; doubtless in endeavouring to refit their vessels; but they do not appear to have succeeded; for at the end of the summer they were still found on the same

spot, and their number, by sickness and scarcity, reduced to twenty. During the winter the Esquimaux lived near them, and often supplied them with their own coarse provision of train-oil and blubber. In spring the natives removed to another part of the coast, and did not return till summer, when they found only five survivors, reduced to the last extremity of famine. Having purchased from the Esquimaux some seal's flesh and blubber, they began to eat with such imprudent eagerness, that three died in consequence. The remaining two lived many days longer, and frequently went to the top of a neighbouring rock, where they gazed long to the south and the east, in hopes of some succour appearing; and when none was discovered, they sat down close together and wept bitterly. At length one died, and the other, in attempting to dig his grave, fell down and expired above him.

After so gloomy a close of this expedition, the spirit of discovery slumbered till 1737, when it was rekindled by the ardent zeal of Mr Dobbs, a gentleman of property and influence, intimately connected with government. In that year he prevailed with the Company to fit out two small vessels; but no account was ever published of their proceedings, and they are said not to have reached beyond lat. 62°, which would place them only at the entrance of the Welcome. Captain Middleton, however, an officer long in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, now entered into a correspondence with Dobbs, and stated many reasons which convinced him of a passage being practicable. Dobbs hereupon denounced

the Hudson's Bay Company as persons who were using their utmost efforts to prevent free navigation in any part of the Bay, lest it should lead to the breaking up of their monopoly. He represented them as even renouncing the produce of rich mines and fisheries, lest that produce should be shared by their countrymen. He besought therefore the Lords of the Admiralty to take the matter into their own hands, and to fit out an expedition, in which the Company should have no share or influence. After much solicitation, the Admiralty at length granted him the Furnace bomb-ketch to be employed in this service; and it was placed by Mr Dobbs under the command of Middleton, in whom he reposed the most implicit reliance. Though much was afterwards said and written on Middleton's expedition, the public has never been favoured with any very distinct or connected narrative of its progress. He could not, it appears, get out of Churchill River, where he had wintered, till the 1st July, 1742. He then proceeded directly up the Welcome, in lat. 65° 12′, when he discovered a bold headland, within which was found what he calls a river, but evidently a sound called the Wager, six or eight miles wide. He ascended it fifty or sixty miles, partly in the ship and partly by land, but found no large opening, and no tide except what entered with himself from the east. As black whales, however, which had not been seen at the mouth of the Sound, appeared here, the surmise arose, whether these must not have come from a western ocean. The lieutenant and master were therefore sent to explore an inlet, which

branched out northward from the main channel. They spent four days in this search, and explored Deer Sound, so called from the abundance of those animals, and Savage Sound, from a party of the natives there met with; but without being able to trace any opening, or any tide but that which came in from Hudson's Bay. Middleton now determined, perhaps somewhat hastily, to give up the search in what he still continued to call the Wager, and to steer for the open Welcome. He had not proceeded far, when another "fair Cape" appeared, with the land beyond it, bending to the north-west. The most sanguine hopes hence arose, that this might be the north-eastern point of America, and that beyond these might be free passage to the northern and then to the Pacific ocean. They called it therefore Cape Hope; but by twelve next day their hopes were blasted, and the name belied by the discovery. They were in a wide bay enclosed on every side, to which the disappointed commander gave the name of Repulse Bay. His attention was then drawn to a strait to the eastward, which, crossed by ice from side to side, was denominated the Frozen Strait. On a survey taken from the highest mountain in the vicinity, it appeared to be from four to seven leagues broad, and sixteen to eighteen long, full of large and small islands and shoals, which were all united to each other by masses of ice. Through this strait there came a strong tide, which Middleton, however, believed to be only that which entered by Hudson's Straits, and which, being brought by this circuitous channel into the Welcome, appeared there as a dif-

ferent and even contrary tide to that which, from the same original quarter, came through the bay into the Welcome.

With this report Middleton returned to England, proclaiming that every chance of discovering a passage to India through Hudson's Bay was completely at an end. Dobbs, however, was ill disposed to acquiesce in this account of the matter, and wrote several letters, urging that, by pushing farther north, a passage might still be found. Middleton argued, that "if there was, it must be impassable for the ice, and from the narrowness of any such, in 67° or 68° degrees of latitude, it can be clear of ice only for a week in the year, and many years not clear at all." However willing to give every aid, he declared his determination "not to venture himself that way again." Doubts and suspicions, however, still filled the mind of Dobbs, and they were blown into a flame by an anonymous letter received from two individuals, who told him, "all nature cried aloud there was a passage;" that this "script" was intended to open his eyes and show him "the discoverer's pranks." They could not bear that so glorious an object should die through the mercenary baseness of its conductor. They were ready to venture their fortunes, their lives, their all, in another attempt, and they assured him that "they were no inconsiderable persons." Dobbs soon sought them out, and they proved to be the surgeon and clerk of the vessel. He held a conference with them, and found their views too congenial with his own not to be embraced with the utmost ardour. Middleton was arraigned as a traitor

who had received a bribe of £5000 from the Hudson's Bay Company, and had set out with a full resolution to stifle the discovery. It was asserted, that at the table of the governor of Churchill Fort he said, in presence of some of his officers, that "he would make the voyage, and none on board should know whether there was a passage or not, and that he would be a better friend to the Company than ever." The Wager was pointed out as the channel in which there might be the greatest hopes; yet, when some of the officers doubted Middleton's obstinate conclusion of its being a river, "he rated the clerk as a double-tongued rascal, would cane the lieutenant, broomstick the master, and lash any others" that should hazard such doubts. He was also said to have refused to bring home, or to hold any intercourse with two Indians who came on board, and from whom some of the officers gleaned interesting notices respecting the Coppermine River and the sea to the north, and even procured a map showing the way thither.

There seems to have been much falsehood, or at least exaggeration, in these charges against Middleton, whose observations have been generally confirmed by subsequent navigators. He appears only to have used some imprudent expressions, and to have betrayed rather an immoderate anxiety, that, after such a navigator as he had failed, no one else should attempt to follow in the same track. Dobbs, deeply prepossessed on the subject, adopted with the most ardent zeal all the opinions most hostile to Middleton, and proclaimed, that "the demonstrations of there being

a passage are as strong now as they well can be without actual passing it." He succeeded in inspiring the public with the same belief, and in kindling a zeal which had never risen so high on any former occasion. Parliament voted a reward of L.20,000, equal to L.50,000 at the present time, to be paid to the undertakers in case of their discovering the passage. A committee was formed to raise L.10,000, in shares of L.100 each; and when there was some deficiency in the amount, it was made up by the members. With this was fitted out the Dobbs and California, of 180 and 140 tons respectively, which were placed under the command of Captains Moor and Smith. The officers and men were encouraged not only by extra pay, but by the promised reward of L.500 to the captains, L.200 to the mates, and proportional sums to other *grades* in case of success.

The expedition sailed on the 20th May, 1746, and on the 18th June had cleared the Orkneys. Four days after they had a dreadful alarm of fire, which caused them, Ellis says, "to hear all the varieties of sea-eloquence, cries, prayers, curses, and scolding, mingled together." The fire being in the cabin, close to the powder, kept them in dreadful alarm, till it was happily extinguished. In the Straits they had to make their way through dreadful mountains of ice, which, with other obstructions, prevented them from reaching Marble Island till the 2d August, and the season being so far advanced, they determined to make south, and winter in Nelson's River. The cold of this station seems to have fallen little short of that experienced by Captain Parry in his Arctic winters.

According to Ellis, all liquors under spirit-proof were converted into a perfectly solid mass, and broke the vessels, even of copper, which held them. Brandy and spirits of wine were converted into the consistence of oil. Though they kept a fire-place six feet long, and threw into it a horse-load of wood at once, they could not prevent the walls and windows from freezing; and in the morning they found themselves often frozen to their beds. If a door was opened, the cold vapour rushed in, and was converted into snow. When the fingers were applied to any species of metal, they immediately froze, and left the skin adhering to it. A servant having applied his finger to stop up a bottle, was obliged to have the part cut off which he had so imprudently used as a cork. However, by building lodges in the forest, by warm clothing, and other wise precautions, they escaped those dreadful consequences under which Captain James's party suffered so severely. Their chief affliction was from the scurvy, "that foul and fatal distemper," which is ascribed chiefly, but perhaps rather too hastily, to the allowance of two casks of brandy for the celebration of Christmas. All unctions and fomentations were found of no avail, and relief was afforded only by fresh provisions and tar-water; but Ellis learned, that by the mere copious use of spruce beer, the forts escaped almost wholly this destructive malady, and out of their population of a hundred, would sometimes not bury one in seven years.

A party of Esquimaux were met with during this season, and are represented under exactly the same

colours as we shall find them more fully painted by the recent expeditions,—ugly, good-humoured, friendly, well-clothed in seal and deer skins, and living on fat and train-oil, which they preferred to all other food. Even a boy, who had been bred at one of the forts from his early years, and accustomed to European food, on seeing a seal cut, eagerly licked the oil as it flowed, exclaiming, "Oh what a fine country is mine, where I could have this in plenty!" The Indians in the neighbourhood of the fort appeared to Ellis a corrupted and stunted race, ruined by an inordinate use of the brandy supplied to them by the traders. They were meagre, small, and indolent; while the inland Indians, who will not taste brandy, are a tall, robust, and active people. Their attachment to their relations appeared very striking, yet seems not very consistent with the practice of putting their aged parents to death; but this is said to be an act of obedience which the latter require from their offspring. "The grave of the old person being dug, he goes into it, and after having conversed and smoked a pipe, and perhaps drank a dram or two with his children, signifies he is ready; whereupon two of the children put a thong about his neck, one standing on one side and the other opposite, and pull violently till he is strangled; then cover him with earth, and over that erect a kind of rough monument of stones."

The expedition began to move from their winter-quarters in the beginning of June, but it was nearly the end of that month before they could get into the open sea. Before July had closed they were at the mouth of the Wager, and made it their first task

to explore thoroughly that great inlet. About ten miles from the entrance it narrows into a strait, through which the tide rushes like a sluice or cataract. They ascended it 150 miles, and found it still as salt as the sea; but at length it was traced up to two rivers, neither of which was navigable. After this failure, a council was held to deliberate what step they were next to take. Several, among whom Ellis particularly ranks himself, urged, that the season not being yet quite passed, they should push on, and endeavour to effect something corresponding to their costly equipment and the highly-raised expectations of the public; that the strong tide which came down the Welcome had much appearance of being derived from the Polar Sea; that Repulse Bay had not yet been thoroughly examined, and that other openings might be found by careful examination. Other arguments prevailed with the majority, who, Mr Ellis suspects, "began to be tired of so much labour and hardship, and were inclined to put an end to the voyage as soon as they could." They merely, therefore, examined more carefully one or two of the Sounds connected with the Wager, and then determined to bend their way home, where they arrived on the 14th October. I find no record how they were received by Mr Dobbs, or by the public. It appears abundantly clear, that nothing done by them had brought to an issue that grand question which they had been commissioned to solve, and respecting which the public felt such intense interest; yet no measures were taken to renew or complete the search. The high-raised hopes of the public seem by

this disappointment to have been thoroughly chilled; and the whole question of a North-West Passage for a considerable time sunk into oblivion.

If, as is alleged, the Hudson's Bay Company felt for some time an unworthy jealousy of any attempts to explore the coasts which they had assumed as their own, their sentiments seem ultimately to have become much more liberal. Hearne declares, that he never saw any thing among them but the most cordial zeal to promote these objects. He was commissioned by them, in the year 1769, to undertake a land-journey to the northward, with a view of tracing the famous Coppermine, of observing the numbers and economy of the Indian tribes, and, finally, of the old question, whether there was a passage across the continent? Hearne was furnished with two Europeans, who proved to be of very little use; and his chief dependence was on Captain Chawchinahaw, and eight or ten northern Indians, who undertook to be his guides and providers. He carried with him nothing but one change of clothes, some necessary implements, and an outline map, which he was to fill up with a delineation of the country through which he passed. He soon, however, found himself reduced to a very uncomfortable dependence on his Indian guides, who did not conduct themselves with much discretion. Though by no means unskilful in hunting, they were impelled to it only by the most urgent necessity; and, even when a good quantity of game had been brought down, they had such enormous appetites that two or three meals converted the greatest abundance into a famine. "It was all feasting or all

fasting." Such a regimen ill fitted him to withstand the rigour of the cold, which increased as he proceeded into the interior, and against which the Indians carefully protected themselves by tents and warm clothing; but they viewed with the most calm philosophy the sufferings of the British. Moreover, both they and all their countrymen whom they met besought Hearne incessantly for iron-tools, powder, and tobacco, as if he had carried the Company's warehouse along with him; and it was vain to represent how impossible it was for him to bear on his single person what would supply all the Indians of the north. Sometimes they proceeded to more serious extremities. A party of Indians began a regular work of plunder, conducting it with the most cool deliberation. "They entered my tent, and first asked me to lend them my *skippertogan* to fill a pipe of tobacco. After smoking two or three pipes, they asked for several articles which I had not, among others a pack of cards. One of them then put his hand on my baggage, and asked if it was mine. Before I could answer, he and his companions had all my treasure spread on the ground. One took one thing, and another another, till at last nothing was left but the empty bag, which they permitted me to keep." By these disasters, and by the severity of the climate, Hearne was twice obliged to return to the fort after he had made some progress northwards. The guidance of Chawchinaha was exchanged for that of Con-ne-a-queeze, without any benefit resulting. At length there occurred a leader named Matonnabbe, who showed much more of intelligence

and courtesy than the rest of his countrymen, and who undertook to guide him to the Coppermine River.

On the 7th December, 1770, Hearne again began to journey over the great northern plain, and was safely and faithfully conducted by Matonnabbe. As, however, the same system of irregular hunting and improvident devouring of its produce still continued, they were liable as before to severe temporary famines. After Matonnabbe had eaten what to an ordinary man would make six full meals, he was quite astonished to find his stomach not in perfect order, and would ask Hearne if he could explain the cause; but when the latter ventured to hint at the enormous repast which had preceded, this solution was always repelled with some indignation. The consequence was, that severe want began to be felt, and it pressed heavier on the mind of Hearne, from his thoughts dwelling on the plentiful fare spread at this season on the tables of his friends in England, the refuse of which would have sufficed to deliver him from all his misery. Occasional supplies came in; but Matonnabbe deeply commiserated the case of our traveller in not being provided with wives, without whom, he argued, it was impossible to traverse with any comfort these northern wilds. In fact, this fair part of the creation among these tribes are viewed completely as beasts of burden; and the capacity of carrying enormous weights is the principal charm in the eyes of a northern wooer. Beauty is a very secondary object, and, even after marriage, good temper; for the Indian husband has methods

which he hesitates not to employ, by which the most stubborn and the most pliant are soon placed completely on a level. Hearne, however, seeing the chief possessed of seven or eight wives, suggested the great expense of their maintenance amid those frequent dearths; but Matonnabbe intimated, that, according to Indian ideas, the mere licking of their fingers in the process of cooking ought to suffice for their maintenance; and, in fact, whenever famine became severe, the poor women fell the first victims. A wife, however, is a precarious possession. Any Indian who confides in his strength can challenge the husband to a wrestling-match; and, on his being thrown, the wife becomes the prize. Hearne, a frequent spectator of these contests, viewed with interest the various manner in which the object of them was affected, while her lot was first in suspense, and then decided. Sometimes, attached to her former partner, she uttered loud screams, and was dragged away only by force; at other times, some feigned tears evidently concealed real satisfaction. With the exception of these wrestlings, the northern Indians have few violent contests with each other. Though there exists no law or punishment against murder, an indelible brand is affixed on the murderer. Cannibalism, of which they have been accused, seems to take place only in those dark extremities to which their mode of life exposes them, and which have impelled even civilized man to this dreadful mode of relief; and even then the persons guilty of it are ever after viewed with horror, and shunned.

Hearne and his party proceeded directly north-

wards to the west of the great northern expanses of the Athapescow and Slave Lakes, but passed along others of smaller size, to which he gives the names of Cossed, Snow-bird, Piké, Peshew, and Cogead. He came now in view of what he calls the Stony Mountains, which appeared at first sight to be absolutely inaccessible, being merely a congeries of loose stones, piled confusedly over each other; but the Indians showed him a path by which, scrambling upon hands and knees, it was possible to get across. Then he arrived soon at the object of his search, the Coppermine River; but it appeared little correspondent to the descriptions of the Indians, who had represented it as navigable even for large vessels; here it could barely float a canoe, and was interrupted by shoals and waterfalls. Before proceeding downwards, he was doomed to witness one of those scenes which present savage man under so dark and dire an aspect. The Indians learned, that at some distance there was an encampment of Esquimaux, whom they considered as the deadly enemy of their race. A plan was instantly formed to surprise and murder them. The moment this diabolical purpose was conceived, a strict union was established between the Indians, all their private quarrels were forgotten, and one soul seemed to animate the whole party. They moved in silence and haste, only taking care to paint their faces black and white, and to delineate on their shields the figure of the sun, the moon, or some bird or beast, which each had chosen as his guardian power. In this frightful array they rushed at midnight upon the unhappy Esquimaux, while they

were buried in slumber. The massacre was complete, and perpetrated with every circumstance of the most wanton barbarity. Hearne in vain entreated, especially for a poor girl who clung to him for life; but the Indian, after giving her repeated stabs, disdainfully asked him if he wanted an Esquimaux wife? When this butchery had been completed, seven Esquimaux tents were descried on the opposite bank of the river; but the Indian canoes having happily been left at some distance above, all they could do was to fire across. The poor creatures, quite strangers to musketry, took up the balls as presents that had been sent to them, till one was wounded in the leg, when they ran off and effected their escape.

Hearne now proceeding on his survey, very soon reached the mouth of the river, and had a full view of the Arctic ocean. The tide was out during the short time that he remained; but the marks which the waters had left, and the quantity of whalebone and seal-skin in possession of the Esquimaux, left no doubt of its really being the sea. This discovery formed a grand era in the geography of America; for all the delineations made at this time showed it as an unbroken mass of land stretching towards the pole. The unexpected discovery, that there was here an ocean, threw an entirely new light on the structure of the continent, and inspired those grand schemes of discovery and navigation which were afterwards so extensively acted upon.

Hearne having now effected the main objects of his mission, bent his way back to Hudson's Bay. On his return he was shown the copper-mine of which Indian

report had raised so great an expectation. It bore very little correspondence with its fame. The ore was found in lumps among pebbles; but after a search of four hours, they found no piece of any consequence, except one, which indeed weighed four pounds. The mine had probably been exhausted by the natives, who, being originally acquainted with no other useful metal, had exchanged it with some reluctance for the iron of Europeans.

The party, in their return, took a more westerly route by the Athapescow Lake; after passing which they found themselves in a level country abounding in game. Here having seen the track of a strange snow-shoe, they traced it till they found a handsome young Indian woman, who had lived solitary for seven months in a hut which she had built for herself on the shores of the lake. The Athapescow Indians, who murdered her father, mother, and husband, had taken her prisoner. She had contrived to hide her infant, but, on reaching her place of captivity, it was discovered and killed by one of the Athapescow women. Unable after this to endure living among this tribe, she effected her escape, but was unable to find her way home, and winter surprised her on the banks of the lake. In this circumstance she had shown amazing activity and ingenuity. With snares made of the sinews of rabbits and deer she had procured a sufficiency of game; she had built a wooden hut, and even sewed a neat suit of clothes out of the skins of animals. Her story and her accomplishments excited so much interest, that numerous wrestling-matches

were necessary to decide the happy mortal who was to carry her off as his wife.

Along with the other information collected by Mr Hearne, he communicated that of the great breadth of the American continent, and the distance of the Pacific, which had been generally supposed to be only two or three hundred miles west of Hudson's Bay. He had been five hundred miles westward, and had met with Indians who had gone a much greater distance further, without even hearing of any termination of the land. This observation, at that time new, was soon amply confirmed by the discoveries of Cook.

While the Hudson's Bay Company were slumbering over their charter, another company, from a much less favourable quarter, and without any privilege or public support, succeeded in almost supplanting them. The French, while in possession of Canada, had been at great pains to form communications with the Indians for the carrying on of the fur-trade. For this purpose they penetrated to and formed stations on the interior lakes, to which the Indians, from very distant quarters, began to resort and exchange their furs for European goods. The French easily adopt the habits of any people among whom they are thrown; and man seems more easily to exchange civilized for savage habits than the reverse. There sprang up a race, called *Coureurs des Bois*, who assimilated themselves wholly to the Indians, followed them into the depth of their immense deserts, and returned annually laden with rich skins, the produce of which enabled them to spend a short interval of riot and jollity. They were justly anathematized by the

church, which even refused them the sacrament, on account of their selling brandy to the natives. By degrees they were succeeded by a superior class, consisting chiefly of retired officers, who, under the sanction of government, carried on the trade in a more respectable manner, and penetrated far into the interior of North America. They were attended by missionaries, who exercised their important functions, it is said, with laudable zeal, but with very slender success, and left scarcely any trace of their operations.

This great connexion was broken up by the treaty of 1763, which vested the sovereignty of Canada in Great Britain; and the trade was for some time suspended. In the course of a few years the enterprise of British merchants began to find its way to so profitable a branch. Once engaged in it, they soon undertook to outstrip their French predecessors. A Mr Currie penetrated beyond Lake Winnipeg to the banks of the Saskatchiwine, where he loaded four canoes with the most valuable furs, the disposal of which rendered it unnecessary to undertake any further excursions. Mr Peter Finlay followed with equal success; and the sphere rapidly extending, Mr Frobisher, in 1775, reached the banks of Churchill River, and Mr Pond, in 1778, those of the Athapescow Lake, where he met a vast concourse of the Knistineaux, Chepewyans, and other Indians, who were wont to carry their furs to the Hudson's Bay market. From them he procured, on the most advantageous terms, more than he was able to transport. These prosperous adventures kindled an extraordinary ardour in Canada, and traders flocked in such crowds

as soon to ruin each other's market. They did so not only by the legitimate effects of competition, but by relating of rival traders all the evil they could devise, much of which being true, the whole met with ready belief. The Indians were thus at length worked up to such a pitch of hostile feeling, that they had entered into a general scheme to cut off the English entirely, and the execution was, it is supposed, only prevented by the breaking out of the small-pox, and by the dreadful havock which that disease occasioned among them.

The adventurers thus employed, finding that they were only injuring the trade and ruining each other, at length agreed to unite their interests, and form what was called the North-west Company. They divided their stock into sixteen shares, each proprietor contributing a portion, not of money, but of the goods suited to the Indian market. After this arrangement they acted with a united ardour, which, combining the benefits of mutual aid and of individual zeal, enabled them to embrace an extent of commercial transactions hitherto unknown in this corner of the world. From an annual amount of £40,000, with which they began, they rose in ten years to £120,000. The Hudson's Bay Company now felt their jealousy deeply roused, and made the most violent efforts to stop the progress of this rising competitor; "but," says Mackenzie, "after the murder of one of our partners, the laming of another, and the narrow escape of a third," they were obliged to give in, and to admit of a compromise. The plan of the Company seems to have been well calculated to maintain a spirit of activity and emulation. When any member retired, he re-

ceived the estimated value of his share, and named as his successor one of the clerks; subject, however, to the general approbation of the Company as to the qualifications of the *nominee*. The clerks, having this prospect of succession, laboured with all the zeal of partners to promote the prosperity of the Company. Perhaps in a service attended with so much both of difficulty and danger, no less encouragement was necessary to animate their efforts. At the time when Mackenzie wrote, the Company employed fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, 1120 canoe-men, and twenty-five guides. Part of these, called pork-eaters, or goers and comers, went every summer to the Grand Portage at the extremity of Lake Superior, or even to Rainy Lake. Another class consisted of "North-men or winterers," who accompanied the Indians to the most interior depths of the continent, and, besides their own pay and aliment, were allowed the maintenance of seven hundred Indian women and children. They proceeded by the Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods to a grand station on Winnipeg Lake, whence some diverged northwards to the Elk River and the Athaspescow Lake, while others, following a westerly direction, ascended the Saskatchiwine to the borders of the Rocky Mountains. In the beginning of July all parties assembled from all quarters at the Grand Portage, to exchange the materials of trade for its produce. Here the winterers calculated upon finding a copious supply of good cheer, in which they might indulge with some excess during the fortnight that they remained. The partners, clerks, and all claiming the rank of gentlemen, dined in a public

hall to the number usually of a hundred, when the table was amply spread with fish, ham, venison, and other northern delicacies. In one year the trade produced 106,000 beaver, 32,000 martin skins, and about 40,000 skins of other kinds. The credit was long and heavy, about three years and a half elapsing between the time when the goods were shipped from England and the furs landed there; but the profits appear to have been amply sufficient to cover all this expenditure.

Alexander Mackenzie, bred a clerk in the service of the Company, soon entitled himself to the rank of a partner, and not only carried on with spirit the ordinary train of traffic, but undertook the further task of exploring the remote extremities of those vast regions from which the Company drew the materials of their commerce. For eight years he established his head-quarters at their advanced station of Fort Chepewyan on the Athapescow Lake, whence he undertook long expeditions in several directions. His first journey, directed to the north, was commenced on the 3d June, 1789. The crew consisted of four Canadians and several Indians, one of whom was so much attached to the English, that he had acquired the name of the English chief. He descended the Peace River, which, turning north to the Slave Lake, assumes the name of the Slave River. It was here about a mile broad, and the navigation downwards met with no impediment, so that on the 9th they arrived at the Slave Lake. This large expanse of water was found still covered with ice, unless along its borders; and on its banks grew in profusion all

the trees peculiar to this region. At its western extremity was found a large river flowing to the north-west; which he determined to descend. A party of Indians, however, here gave the most alarming accounts of the passage downwards, stating, that it would occupy several winters, that all provisions would fail, and that the channel was filled with monsters, by which they would be in imminent danger of being devoured. Mackenzie laughed at all this; but it made a deep impression on the mind of the guide, who immediately showed a disposition to escape, which he soon effected. They were now obliged to seize guides by force, but found great difficulty in detaining them; and the only one who showed any inclination to the service could not be prevented from dancing with such vehemence in the canoe, that they thought every moment it would go to the bottom, and were not sorry when he went off. Bands of natives often appeared in menacing attitudes, but were quieted on seeing them well armed, and receiving some trifling presents. On the 12th July, Mr Mackenzie arrived on the banks of a large lake; but for some reason which he does not disclose, he proceeded no farther. There appears, however, much reason to think, that this lake was neither more nor less than the sea. A report being brought that some ice-islands were floating in it, he examined and found these islands to be whales, and made some vain attempts to catch them. As the party were encamped on the banks, the water rose and flowed under their baggage, which could seemingly arise from no cause except the tide. It certainly appears

singular, as Mr Barrow observes, that the traveller should have overlooked the simple expedient of dipping his finger in the water, and seeing if it was salt. There could not, however, be a doubt, that the sea was either here or at a very small distance; and this important supplement to the discovery of Hearne suggested the idea, not only that there was an ocean in the north of America, but that it formed a grand continuous boundary of that continent.

Mr Mackenzie, after his return to Fort Chepewyan, undertook another journey, equally extensive, to the westward. He ascended the Peace River towards the Rocky Mountains. This voyage against the stream was attended with considerable difficulties, and the canoes twice became leaky and insufficient, producing the necessity of building new ones. At length the long range of snowy summits which compose the Rocky chain appeared in view. It was necessary to pass over them on foot, and the party soon found themselves, though in the midst of summer, marching through deep snow; which, however, seemed occasioned less by the actual elevation of the pass, than by the drift from the more elevated heights which rose on every side. After a very fatiguing journey, in the interval between their station and a mountain whose snow-clad pinnacle was lost in the clouds, there appeared a river flowing to the westward sufficiently broad to float a canoe. They soon came to a village, and observed all the peculiarities which distinguish the western side of these mountains. They were regaled with salmon, a fish unknown in the eastern rivers,—and with those de-

licious berries which abound in all the Pacific regions of North America. The first village they came to, instead of the miserable Canadian wigwams, was composed of large houses, 120 feet long, raised by posts to some distance above the ground, ascended by a species of ladder, and the interior divided into numerous apartments, each of which was occupied by a distinct family. They had a pretty ample supply of salmon, caught in large wears, framed with considerable ingenuity. In this great national concern of their fishery, the natives are extremely sensitive, and often swayed by superstitious notions. Venison was not allowed to be carried down in the boat, from the idea that its smell would drive away the salmon; and from a similar dread they contrived to withdraw a copper kettle; nor could they view without apprehension the astronomical observations, which might, it was supposed, have a magical and malignant influence on the finny inhabitants. The English found also no lack of that extreme and dishonourable liberality as to the virtue of their females which is so general among the western tribes. After descending the river for a considerable space, the navigation became so difficult that they were obliged to quit it, but succeeded by land in reaching the western sea. This was another important geographical discovery. It was the first time in which the continent had been crossed under this latitude. An experimental proof was thus afforded of the great breadth of land which here exists, and the discoveries made along and from the eastern coast were connected with those of Vancouver and Cook.

CHAPTER IV.

RECENT NORTH-WEST VOYAGES.

Plans for Expeditions of Discovery.—Captain Ross sent out.—His Voyage round Baffin's Bay.—Lancaster Sound.—Captain Parry's First Voyage.—Discovery of Barrow's Strait.—Melville Island.—Wintering.—Proceedings next Summer.—Return to England.—Second Voyage.—Passage through the Welcome.—Winter Island.—The Northern Ocean.—Strait of the Fury and Hecla.—Second Wintering.—Return.—Third Voyage.—Loss of the Fury.—Return.

THE British navy, which for three centuries had been in a state of continued progress, rose during the last war to an unrivalled height of glory; it then vanquished and annihilated the united navies of Europe. Even before its close, the enemies of Britain having ceased to appear on the seas, afforded no longer scope for her naval energies. These energies, however, were still as powerful and active as ever; and there remained a secondary sphere, within which were to be encountered toils and dangers almost as formidable as when hostile flags filled the seas of Europe. The efforts of the early navigators, bold and skilful as they had been, had left still in deep obscurity the questions respecting the structure of the polar regions, and the maritime passage through

them. It appeared, therefore, that with augmented naval means and naval skill, and with the new energies which had been called forth, an attempt, with some reasonable hopes of success, might now be made to vanquish those barriers of ice and tempest against which our ancient naval heroes had in vain contended. This object was adopted by government with a zeal which some deemed extreme and enthusiastic; but it has often been observed, that without some portion of enthusiasm nothing great or extraordinary was ever effected. Mr Barrow fanned the flame both of government and of the public, rekindled it when beginning to cool, and was thus the instrument of commencing a series of expeditions of discovery, which were pursued more steadily, and on a greater scale, than at any prior naval era.

In 1818, two expeditions were fitted out, one of which, consisting of the Dorothea and Trent, under the command of Captain Buchan, was appointed to endeavour to reach and penetrate across the North Pole. This expedition is not within our sphere, and did not succeed. The other, consisting of the Isabella and Alexander, was placed under Captain Ross, and was destined to seek a western passage through Baffin's Bay, the exploration of which, and the establishment of its character as a bay, were justly regarded as by no means completely effected. Captain Ross hoisted his flag on board the Isabella, while Lieutenant Parry, an officer of merit, though not yet known to the public, received the command of the Alexander.

On the 18th April the expedition dropped down

the river, and about the 30th arrived off Shetland. On the 26th May, Cape Farewell and Icebergs came, as usual, together into view. Of the latter, Captain Ross says, "It is hardly possible to imagine any thing more exquisite than the variety of tints which these icebergs display." On entering Davis's Straits, they found its centre occupied, as usual, by an unbroken barrier of ice, and were obliged to work their way through a narrow and precarious channel along the coast, so that it was the 6th or 7th of August before the higher latitudes of Baffin's Bay were attained. Here they were overtaken by a tempest so violent as to have scarcely any parallel, even in the annals of Greenland and the Pole. "It became a trial of strength between the ship and the ice; every support threatened to give way; the beams in the hold began to bend, and the iron-banks settled together. The Isabella was carried with great violence towards the Alexander, and in spite of every effort they got foul of each other; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat which could not be removed from between them. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less expected than the loss of the masts; but at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted; the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the Alexander with comparatively little damage." The great strength with which the ships had been built seemed the chief cause which enabled

them to resist this extraordinary shock. In these high latitudes they came to a race of Esquimaux, who seem to be the most insulated from the world and from all civilized existence, of almost any human beings hitherto discovered. Their limited tract of habitable territory is so enclosed on the south with snowy and inaccessible mountains, that they considered that quarter as rendered unfit by extreme cold for the habitation of man. The appearance of the strangers inspired them with the utmost astonishment, accompanied with the most rooted unbelief of their being of the same species with themselves. They stood on the opposite side of a chasm, looking with the most intense curiosity, and occasionally drawing back the covering from their heads, as if to catch the most distant sounds, when their features displayed extreme terror and amazement, and every limb appeared to tremble. Saccheous, the Esquimaux interpreter, threw a plank across the chasm, and went over; but they shrunk back in alarm, under the impression that the touch of a being out of the order of nature would occasion death. At length one bold individual touched his hand, and the general panic abated. They became more familiar, and pointing to the ships, asked what was the nature of that huge bird. In vain did Saccheous assure them that it was a frame of timber made by human hands. This explanation they instantly rejected, pointing to the wings, as they termed the sails. They therefore advanced to the vessels, and began addressing them, pausing at every question, and pulling their nose in sign of respect. They inquired "Who are you? where do you come from?

Is it from the sun or the moon?" No answer being returned, they began at length to listen to the explanation of Saccheous, and to examine in detail the parts of the vessel. They asked of what skins the cable and the sails were made, and viewed with attention and desire the carpenter's tools. At every new wonder, wild amazement, joy, and fear, pervaded their countenances, and after a pause, terminated in loud shouts and laughter. The usual desire then arose to possess these new and admired objects. Unable to appreciate the weight of different articles, they endeavoured to take up and run away, first with the mast, and then with the anchor. They then attempted the smith's anvil; but finding it fixed, made off at least with the hammer. A sailor mounting to the topmast excited their utmost astonishment; nor was it without long hesitation that they would venture themselves on a rope-ladder. One of the officers had a little terrier-dog, which they looked on with contempt, as incapable of drawing burdens; but when they saw a pig, and heard its grunt, alarm became visible. They had no relish for spirits, salt meat, or biscuit, preferring beyond all comparison their own standing dishes, the flesh of the seal and the sea-unicorn. They at length arrived at a cordial agreement with the English, which they sealed with a *heighyan*," evidently the *Iliaout* of the early navigators.

These people, considered both in respect to aspect, language, and customs, belong evidently to the widely-diffused race of the Esquimaux or Greenlanders. They labour, however, as compared with the rest, under one remarkable deficiency. The canoe, which we instinctively as it were attach to the idea of an Es-

quimaux, was wanting. They know nothing either of the *kayak* or the *uniak*, the man's boat or the woman's boat, nor have any means of moving on the surface of the sea on which they border. This singular deficiency may arise from the want of wood, though it could be supplied with bone; but the long period of the year during which the sea is covered with solid ice, over which they can wander to surprise or entrap the animals that form their food, may render it little an object to traverse its surface by any other means. The use of iron, rudely formed into knives, gives to these people a certain distinction above all the other American tribes. This iron is supposed, though seemingly on rather slight grounds, to be meteoric. These Esquimaux are much distinguished also from others by having a chief or king, whom they regard with much reverence, and even pay him taxes of train-oil, seal-skin, and other rude products of this dreary region.

The expedition witnessed here a remarkable phenomenon,—cliffs tinged with a crimson dye. This colour resided in the snow, which, when collected in buckets, had the appearance of raspberry ice-cream. A portion was brought home, and analyzed in London, without its being possible to form any very decided conclusion. The colouring globules were extremely minute, had a fetid animal smell, and yielded, on distillation, oil and ammonia. It was hence inferred that the colouring infusion might be animal, and might consist of the excrement of birds holding combined the spawn of a minute species of shrimp common in these seas. It was afterwards judged more probable that the tinge was given by a species of moss used by

the natives for wicks to their lamps, and the roots of which are of a deep-scarlet colour; yet M. Marcet of Geneva has lately, after a very careful analysis, revived the former opinion, believing the globules to consist of a very minute species of animalculæ.

Captain Ross now arrived among those larger sounds which might appear likely to reach across the continent. He passed very hastily Worsenholme and Whale Sounds, which appeared to him to be deep, and blocked up with ice; but, as he did not approach even their entrance, this conclusion rests on somewhat slender proof. However, these openings were still on the eastern side, and could not well lead to the desired passage. More interest was excited by Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, at the very head of Baffin's Bay, which that navigator had pronounced the largest of all the openings which it contained. Captain Ross conceived the bottom of it to be eighteen leagues distant, and the entrance completely blocked up with ice; but he seems not to have approached near enough to ascertain this last point; and Mr Fisher could see no appearance of land to the northward. They afterwards reached another large and hitherto unobserved opening, which has since been named after the commander himself; but he considered it equally clear that this afforded no passage. Then came Alderman Jones's Sound, which could not be approached for ice and fog, and without farther inquiry the vessels passed along the coast, which now turned to the southward.

The expedition, in following this direction, arrived at a more grand and important opening, which soon proved to be the Lancaster Sound of Baffin. It seemed

to be 45 or 50 miles wide, bordered by magnificent ranges of mountains. Its breadth, the extraordinary depth, and increased temperature of the water, tended to excite the deepest interest, and inspire the most sanguine hopes. The topmast was crowded with officers and men looking up the Sound, and endeavouring *not* to discover a termination to it. From the first, however, Captain Ross and the officers immediately about him seem to have formed the opinion of its being only an inlet, and to have been even disposed to entertain very slight proofs of this being the case. After sailing up thirty miles, the coasts appeared closely to approach each other; but a thick mist still hung over the extreme head of the bay. Captain Ross, however, having gone down to dinner, left orders to be called up the moment there should be any appearance of clearing in this quarter. At three o'clock he was summoned; "soon after it completely cleared for about ten minutes, and I distinctly saw the land round the bottom of the bay, forming a connected chain of mountains with those which extended along the north and south sides. At this moment I also saw a continuity of ice, at the distance of seven miles, extending from one side of the bay to the other." Mr Lewis, the master, and James Haig, leading man, concurred; and, upon conclusions formed between these three, the ship's head was turned, and they stood directly out of the bay.

Captain Ross, in proceeding to the south, found no important opening till he came to Cumberland Strait, which, from its depth and the current setting through it, appeared to afford better promise than any opening

previously observed. It being now, however, the first of October, Captain Ross considered himself bound by his instructions not to remain longer in the ice; though it appeared afterwards that the Admiralty had fully calculated, and considered themselves as having equipped the vessels, for spending the winter in these latitudes, if it should appear conducive to the grand object of their mission.

Captain Ross returned with a report very decidedly adverse to any hope of penetrating beyond the limits traced by Baffin, whose accuracy in every respect he considered as having been fully ascertained by his voyage. To this conclusion the Admiralty demurred, and a somewhat warm controversy arose. It was argued, that the mode of examination which had been followed throughout this voyage was not founded on any sound principle of maritime perspective. Every passage or channel, which is at all of a winding form, presents at its entrance the appearance of being enclosed by land. Mr Barrow in the Quarterly Review instanced the Cattegat, Great and Little Belts, Plymouth Sound, and the successive reaches of the Thames; to which may be added those of the Frith of Forth. Most certainly, if a channel branch off in any degree at right angles to its original direction, it is perfectly impossible that the ascending vessel can discover this channel till it comes to the very spot. The other officers, on being examined, were found by no means very strictly to accord in opinion with Captain Ross upon this question. Lieutenant Parry of the Alexander, in particular, described himself as full of the most sanguine hopes at the very

moment, when, for reasons to him incomprehensible, he saw the head of the Isabella turned out of the sound,—a movement which his duty bound him to follow. The Admiralty were too fully predisposed in favour of this view of the subject not to give diligent heed to the statements in support of it. They determined to fit out a new expedition, giving the command to Lieutenant Parry, who, it was trusted, would not return without a full decision of the question.

Lieutenant, now Captain Parry, was fitted out with two vessels, the largest of which was the Hecla, in which he himself sailed, of 375 tons, carrying a crew of 58 men, and, having been built as a bomb-vessel, well adapted for stowage. The other was the Griper, a twelve-gun brig, of 180 tons, commanded by Lieutenant Liddon, with a ship's company of 36. These vessels were fortified by an extra lining of oak-plank, by a number of beams and additional timbers, and by strong plates of iron at the bows. They were supplied with provisions for two years, including preserved meats, essence of malt and hops, and other antiscorbutics, an ample stock of warm clothing, and a hundred chaldrons of coals serving for ballast.

The two vessels left the Nore on the 8th May, 1819, and after a voyage, the details of which need not be enlarged upon, found themselves, by the 18th of June, in the middle of Davis's Straits. The barrier of ice, however, which runs across this sea during all the early part of the season, was still close, and Captain Parry, in endeavouring to dash through it, was completely

beset, and the ships extricated not without some danger and a little damage. He made his way round, however, by Sanderson's Hope, and the Woman's Islands, and at the latitude of 73° found means to cross this great and formidable barrier. The 2d of August had thus arrived before he had reached Lancaster Sound, that important point at which the fate of the voyage was to be decided. This, after all, was a month earlier than the same spot had been reached on the last voyage.

Possession Bay, the southern entrance of Lancaster Sound, had nothing unpromising, and the line was even let down sixty or seventy fathoms without finding a bottom. They were still tantalized, however, by a wind blowing steadily from the west, which admitted very slow progress. The Griper also could not keep pace with her consort,—a circumstance so teasing, that Captain Parry appointed her signals, and himself pushed on, carrying a press of sail, and in the evening saw the northern shore of the sound looking through the clouds which hung over it.

On the morning of the 2d the expedition had first a full view of the Sound, of which the southern side consisted of lofty and peaked mountains covered with snow, while those on the north were lower and had a smoother and rounder form. They looked anxiously up the Sound, but there was no appearance either of ice or land; and even the violent pitching, which threw the water twice in at the stern windows, though not quite agreeable in itself, seemed indicative of an open sea to the westward. At length a breeze

sprung up from the east, a crowd of sail was set, and all the company stood fixed in breathless anxiety, as the breeze, increasing to a gale, carried them rapidly up the Sound. The mast-heads were crowded with officers and men, and the successive reports from the pinnacle called the crow's-nest were sought and received with the most eager anxiety. Every report was favourable; and, after passing various headlands, and two large openings, one on the south, which they called Navy-Board Inlet, and one on the north called Croker's Bay, they found themselves in long. 83°, or about a hundred miles from the mouth of this magnificent inlet, which still preserved a breadth of thirteen leagues across. Their course was now somewhat slackened to allow the Griper to come up, and she joined them about the longitude of 85°. In longitude 86° 30′ they passed two inlets, which they called Burnet and Stratton, after a cape which they named Fellfoot, where the land appeared to terminate. The sea appearing now free from ice, and having regained, as appeared to them, the usual oceanic colour, while a long swell rolled in from the southward, they began to hope that they had fairly entered the polar sea, and some even began to calculate the time when they would reach Icy Cape. These pleasing reveries were suspended by an alarm of land; but it proved to be an island of no great extent. They came then to a mass of ice of no great apparent breadth or thickness, extending parallel to their course; but, after sailing along its border two hours, they saw it joined about half a mile to the westward to a compact and impenetrable body of floes, which reached across the

whole breadth of the sea from land to land. It behoved them instantly to turn back in order to avoid being embayed; and their progress westward being thus stopped, they began steering to the south. They now discovered another island, to which, along with the former, they gave the name of Prince Leopold. They discovered to the southward a large space of open sea, over which was a dark water-sky. Turning their course in this direction, they found themselves at the mouth of a great inlet, ten leagues broad, and in looking up from the centre of which no land was visible. To two capes at its western extremity they gave the names of Clarence and Seppings. The action of the compasses became here so excessively irregular, indicating an approach to the magnetic pole, that this instrument was no longer of any use in navigation. The western shore was too much encumbered with ice to admit of free navigation, but the ships ran along till they reached the eastern, where they found a broad and open channel. Along this they ran about a hundred and twenty miles to the southward, when again the western horizon was seen from the crow's-nest, covered with heavy and extensive floes, beyond which no extent of open water could be descried; but a bright and dazzling ice-blink extended from shore to shore. There was no choice but to turn back without reaching the extreme point in view, which they named Cape Kater; and the ice having closed in behind them, rendered their return very arduous, especially as the compass was useless, the sky obscured by fogs, and they could only guess the direction in which they were sailing. In their way northward they dis-

covered a small bay, forming a fine and secure harbour, called Port Bowen. It was enclosed by precipitous cliffs, which often resembled ruined towers and battlements, and from which fragments were continually falling: the soil was barren in the extreme.

The vessels were now brought back to Prince Leopold's Islands, to watch for an opening in the great western barrier of ice. It was still fast closed; and, on landing and ascending a hill, there appeared no termination to it, though happily there was no land in view. They then steered towards the northern coast of this great channel, and whiled away their time in examining its shores, when, on the 21st, the ice, by one of those sudden changes to which that element is liable, entirely disappeared, and the sea to the west appeared clear as far as the eye could reach.

The expedition had now an unobstructed run, only retarded by occasional calms and changes of wind. Before the end of August they had passed a range of coasts, which they had reason to believe were large islands, and which were called in their order, Beechey Island, Cornwallis Island, Bathurst Island, and Byam Martin Island; and in the middle of the channel was a smaller one, called Lowther Island. West of Cornwallis was a magnificent inlet opening to the north, to which they gave the name of Wellington; while the whole of the great channel from thence to the opening of Lancaster Sound received the name of Barrow, to whose exertions and influence this expedition had been so deeply indebted.

On Byam Martin Island observations were made on the magnetic needle, which led to the singular dis-

covery, that the variation which, in long. 91°, had been 128° westerly, was now (in 103° long.) 194° westerly, or 166° easterly; so that they must have passed to the north of the magnetic pole, and over a point at which the variation would have been 180°, or in which the north pole of the compass would have pointed to the south. This would probably be about the meridian of 100°.

The passage began now to be again obstructed by ice; of which at one point they had to bore through a considerable breadth by main force. They were also beset with thick fogs, which, now that the compass no longer availed, reduced them to an extreme difficulty in deciding upon their course; and they were driven to the most imperfect means of forming a judgment upon this point. Their first principle was, that having the ice on one side and the land on the other, any divergence was marked by symptoms of approach to one or the other. Then, however, the ice turning to the southward deprived them of this test, and they had only to rely on the wind continuing steady, and to guide their course by it. At length the two ships having placed themselves at the distance of a quarter of a mile, directed their course by each other, keeping the one a-stern and the other a-head of its companion; and thus they made a tolerable westerly course. They were now on the coast of an island much larger than any of those which they had hitherto reached, and which they called Melville Island. On the 4th September Captain Parry could announce to his company the joyful news that they had reached the longitude of 110°, and had thus earned the reward

of five thousand pounds, to which, by royal bounty, those of his Majesty's subjects became entitled who first reached that point of the polar sea.

Captain Parry had hoped to have all the month of September to spend in discovery and in progress westward, and he was, therefore, much mortified to find that, on the 8th of that month, his advance was impeded by a fixed barrier of ice. Most anxious, however, to do as much as possible this season, he diligently watched every opening. Meantime parties were sent on shore to procure game, and much alarm was occasioned on account of six men from the Griper, who were overtaken soon after their departure with a storm of snow, and did not return. It was impossible to send far in search of them, or to do much more than raise the great flag-staff, guided by which they appeared at the end of three days in a very debilitated and frost-bitten condition. The sea meantime, instead of opening, as was their daily hope, became always the more firmly closed; and the fields of ice, extending and pressing in every direction, rendered the position of the ships more and more precarious. About the 20th it became manifest that there could be no farther progress westward this season, and even that no time was to be lost in securing a winter retreat. For this purpose they were obliged to return considerably to the eastward, and even to saw through a field of ice two miles and a quarter in length; after which they were securely fixed in what they termed Winter Harbour.

The prospect of spending a winter of eight months, of which three or four would be of perpetual dark-

ness, in this depth of the Arctic regions, and several thousand miles distant from any civilized abode, and in continued conflict with the fiercest of the elements, was very serious and formidable. Captain Parry, however, was both physically and morally prepared to meet it. He possessed that decisive and at the same time conciliatory character, joined to that knowledge of human nature, and particularly of the character of sailors, which fitted him for a management in which it was necessary to join persuasion with authority. A large provision had been made of every thing which could tend to preserve the health of the crew. They were served weekly with a pound of Donkin's preserved meats, and a pint of vegetable or concentrated soup; allowances were made of beer, wine, sour-krout, pickles, and vinegar. They had also a daily draught of lime-juice and water, which, as their own prudence could not be relied upon, they were compelled to drink in presence of an officer. The utmost attention was paid to the drying, heating, and airing of the apartments. The men were also made to spend an hour or two in daily exercise; and, when the weather did not allow them to go to a distance, were obliged to run round the apartment, keeping time to the tune of an organ. This movement they did not find at first very amusing; but no alternative being offered, they at last made it a matter of frolic. They were allowed from six to nine to amuse themselves as they pleased, which they did with games of various kinds, and occasional singing and dancing. It was impossible, however, to escape effectually the dreary monotony which pressed upon them. Their short

walks presented little that could either interest or amuse. "To the south lay the sea, presenting only an unbroken surface of ice, uniform in its dazzling whiteness, and varied only by a few hummocks. The variety was not much greater on the land, almost entirely covered with snow, except an occasional brown patch in some exposed situations. The ships, and the smoke issuing from their several fires, indicating the presence of man, alone gave a partial cheerfulness to the prospect; and the sound of voices which, in the calm and cold air, was heard at an extraordinary distance, alone broke the death-like stillness which reigned around them. Amid this total want of objects, even a stone of any uncommon size rising above the snow became a mark to which their eyes were unconsciously fixed, and their feet mechanically advanced."

To diversify the dreary gloom of this period, Captain Parry contrived expedients which do not seem very much in harmony with the scene and situation, but which yet produced happy effects. The most leading of these was the exhibition of dramatic entertainments, in which the officers appeared as amateur performers. The very stir of preparing an apartment for this sort of performance had an effect in keeping up the spirits of the sailors. On the 5th of November, immediately after the permanent disappearance of the sun, the Arctic theatre opened with "Miss in her Teens," which was received with the greatest applause by the nautical audience. For the special entertainment of the officers, the North Georgia Gazette made its weekly appearance. A free press,

or indeed any press, is admitted as somewhat contrary to the principles of government which prevail in his Majesty's ships; but the character of the officers was thought a security against any abuse, and much benefit was found from the occupation and excitement produced by this employment. All the officers were invoked to contribute; and even those who did not write furnished readers and critics, who contributed equally to the general amusement.

The experience of this winter threw a great light on the capacity of the human frame to endure cold, as well as those sudden changes of temperature which have been usually supposed to be pernicious and even fatal. In the most extreme depression, when the thermometer was — 30° or — 40°, that is, sixty or seventy degrees below the freezing-point, a man well-clothed could walk without any painful sensation, and even expose his face without material suffering. Again, they could quit the cabin, though kept up to the comfortable heat of 50° and upwards, and go direct into the open air, when it was seventy or eighty degrees lower, without injury. Where due precaution was not taken, however, there were some serious accidents. John Pearson, a marine, having remained out till after dark, and with his hands uncovered, was brought in with his fingers frozen into the form of that part of the musket which he had been carrying; and it became necessary to amputate three of them. Several, after having been thus rashly exposed, looked wild, spoke thick and indistinctly, and had every appearance of intoxicated persons, till, the circulation being restored, they recovered the use of their senses. In

very extreme cold, the breath of a person at a little distance had the appearance of a musket just fired, and that of a party of men resembled a thick white cloud. No instance was, however, seen of the phenomenon reported by some travellers, of snow produced by the sudden admission of the external air. The only effect observed was the condensation of a vapour resembling thick white smoke, which froze upon the pannels and bulk-heads. It was in February, that the first dreaded symptoms of scurvy appeared. Mr Scallow, the gunner, was first affected; and the origin of his illness was traced to a deposit of moisture in his bed-place. This being removed, and copious use being made of preserved fruits and vegetables, as well as of some mustard and cresses, which they contrived to grow in the cabin, he was able on the ninth day to walk the deck. In the following month there occurred also several serious cases, but which, through the diligent use of similar means, never reached any alarming height.

In June, Captain Parry undertook a journey across Melville Island, carrying with him three weeks' provisions in a light cart constructed for the purpose. He performed this excursion successfully, though the deep and soft snow rendered travelling often laborious. This snow for the most part covered the soil, which, where it appeared, was very naked and barren. He reached the north coast, opposite to which appeared another considerable island, to which he gave the name of Sabine.

About the middle of June, the unbroken ice, which had covered land and sea, appeared in a state of rapid

dissolution. Pools were everywhere formed on its surface; and the land was crossed by such rapid torrents, that hunting excursions were no longer safe. The ice itself began to break up, and to open channels through which boats could pass. Yet the main body of ice in the sea without remained still immovable. It was not till the 2d of August, after they had spent ten whole months and part of the remaining two in this icy prison, that the entire ice fairly drifted out, and left them an open channel in which to proceed. They comforted themselves by thinking that they were now at the same period of the year at which they had last summer entered Lancaster Sound, and if they could make as much progress in the present year, they would not be very distant from Icy Cape. The appearance of the ice was at first very promising, but on the following day a heavy floe, or icy ridge, again barred their progress. On the 4th they again found a narrow passage, and reached the spot where they had been last season so long detained. Here they were again arrested for ten days, not without the external floes making sometimes a menacing appearance. On the 15th they were enabled to make a few miles farther, when the ice to the westward assumed a completely compact and impenetrable aspect. It did not give way even before an easterly wind, which gave room to suspect some barrier on the opposite side by which it was arrested. They ascended some of the heights on this western extremity of Melville Island, which is lofty and precipitous, and the sea was discovered, as far as the eye could reach, presenting the same fixed and hopeless aspect. They

were now in 113° 48′. 29″. 5. being the most westerly meridian hitherto reached in the Polar Sea. A little beyond was Cape Dundas, the extreme western point of Melville Island, which was thus ascertained to be about 130 miles long and 40 or 50 broad. To the west, reaching beyond the 117th degree of longitude, was seen a high and bold coast, which they named Banks's Land, without being able to ascertain its extent and boundaries.

On a consultation now held between the officers, they came to the judgment, to which they had now for some time been approximating, that it would be utterly vain to make any attempt to penetrate farther to the westward. They fixed on it, therefore, as their only alternative, to retrace their steps, and endeavour to find some channel leading southward, or to return to England. Their attempts to find this channel proved fruitless; but in the course of the search they examined more narrowly the southern coast of Barrow's Strait, which they called North Devon, while the opposite coast had been called North Somerset. They found also a large opening, which they called Admiralty Inlet, to the west of that which they had before called Navy-Board Inlet. They encountered rather uncommonly rough weather, both in Baffin's Bay and in the voyage home.

Government, more encouraged by the important measure of success which had crowned this voyage, than depressed by its having failed in the full attainment of its object, determined immediately to fit out a fresh expedition. It was proposed to send it now

in another direction. From what has been stated respecting the progress of Middleton, it will appear that he had by no means thoroughly investigated the northern extremity of Hudson's Bay, or the channel of the Welcome which led to it, and none of his successors had penetrated so far as himself. This quarter, therefore, deserved to be most fully examined, and gave a fair promise of an opening into that great northern sea, which was now so well ascertained to exist. In the course of the winter a second expedition was prepared, consisting of two vessels, the Fury and Hecla, the former commanded by Captain Parry in person, the latter by Captain Lyon, who, in his journey into Africa, had already given proofs of intrepidity, enterprise, and address. Captain Parry was supplied most amply, as before, with every thing which could contribute to the comfort and success of the expedition. The general plan was that of the former expedition, combined with a few improvements suggested by experience. The most material innovation consisted in making the two vessels of the same size, capacity, and in every respect fac-similes of each other. It had hitherto been laid down as a first principle in exploratory voyages, that there should be a larger and a smaller, the latter for the purpose of approaching nearer and making a closer survey of the coasts; but it appeared to Captain Parry that this survey could only be effectively performed in boats, while a smaller and weaker vessel attached to the principal ship was a continued drag to the latter. By making them both good and complete ships, they could act independently if separated, and if together, could more

effectively assist each other; and the anchors, yards, &c. equally fitting each, could be mutually supplied in case of necessity. Arrangements were made for heating the vessels in a more effectual manner by a process of Mr Sylvester, and also for condensing nutritious food into a smaller compass.

Captain Parry sailed from the Nore on the 8th May, 1821; on the 16th was off Buchanness, and on the 18th came in view of Shapinsha, where he took pilots for the Pentland Frith; having passed which, they were detained a week in the excellent harbour of Long Hope. On the 7th June they came abreast of Cape Farewell, and were tossed about for some days by a severe gale. On the 14th they saw their first iceberg,—an object of wonder to those who were new to these vast floating masses. On the 2d July they came in view of Bluff Point, on Resolution Island, at the entrance of Hudson's Bay. Captain Parry, accustomed as he was to polar scenes, was struck with the peculiar desolation which here reigned. The snow still filling many of the valleys, with the fog that hung over it, rendered the scene indescribably dreary and disagreeable. "It requires a few days before the eye becomes familiarized and the mind reconciled to prospects of utter barrenness and desolation, such as these rugged shores present." The icebergs mustered round them to the number of fifty-four, some presenting a very striking diversity of form. The largest was 258 feet above the sea. Amid these huge masses the tides and currents were running with such rapidity as to deprive the sailors of all power of managing the

vessels. Captain Lyon had his best bower-anchor broken with as much ease as if it had been crockery-ware, and five hawsers carried away. The peculiar danger of the entrance of Hudson's Bay arises from the heavy swell which comes in from the main ocean, and, rushing in between the masses of ice, causes the most violent and dangerous concussions. Amid these distresses they were somewhat cheered by the sight of three fellow-sufferers, being two ships of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the third the Lord Wellington, bringing out about 150 settlers for Lord Selkirk's establishment on the Red River. These settlers were chiefly Dutch and Germans, and were often seen busily waltzing on deck, when not interrupted by snow or a fresh gale, and almost every ball was closed with a marriage.

Amid all these obstructions, the favouring tide enabled them to work their way westward to what are called the Savage Islands. Soon a loud shout was heard among the loose ice, and several boats appeared paddling through a lane of open water. The Esquimaux on board hailed the English with a loud cry of Ha, haā! (probably the Iliaout of the first navigators). A large party soon came alongside the Fury, shouting, laughing, and yelling, in the most tumultuous manner. The women at first appeared somewhat timid; but soon became as boisterous as the men. It was impossible to discern the colour of their skin through the thick coating of blood, grease, and dirt; and the hair of jetty black hung dishevelled over the face, to which it gave an air of inexpressible wildness. The visages of the aged females

were singularly hideous and disgusting,—inflamed eyes, wrinkled skin, black teeth, a set of features, in short, scarcely human; whence much excuse was found for the investigation set on foot by Frobisher's crew respecting the diabolic origin of one of these ancient damsels. The children were pretty; but from their wild attire, and being often thrown into the bottom of the boats amid the refuse, they had much the appearance of the cubs of wild animals. The natives began to traffic with eagerness, even with fury, parting with every thing they had to obtain the empty nothings with which their visitors came provided. Like the Newfoundland visitors of Cartier, they stripped off the very skins in which they were clad; and the men, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, reduced themselves to a state of complete nudity; but the women, with a due sense of propriety, never parted with that species of breeches in which they here envelope themselves. Husbands, however, proffered, even urgently, the fair persons of their wives, who seconded the proposal; and in two instances women were understood to tender their children for sale, only taking care previously to strip them of their clothes, lest the value of the lot should be too much enhanced. Captain Parry stigmatizes them as most determined thieves and even pickpockets; but Captain Lyon, who seems to have studied this question more deeply, mentions only "a few instances of dishonesty," under the severe temptation of a nail or a bit of iron lying neglected in view. They placed thorough confidence in the honesty of the English, before whom they left

all their treasures exposed. Whenever they had closed the stipulation for an article, they licked it all over, as sealing the bargain; and the English saw with alarm even the sharp edge of a razor passed along their tongue. They drove what they considered a hard bargain; yet, on obtaining a nail, a saw, or a knife, in exchange for valuable skins, they set up loud shouts of triumph. All kinds of frolic passed between them and the sailors; and the fiddler having struck up a tune, they danced in tolerable time, though their only figure consisted in stamping and leaping with all their might. Their favourite jest was to get slily behind one of the sailors, shout loudly in one ear, and give him a hearty box on the other; and when he showed the astonishment that might be expected, a general laugh ran through the whole party.

The expedition, though still harassed and often beset with ice, continued from time to time to obtain favourable runs; so that they reached, early in August, the interior of the bay, and came in sight of Southampton Island. That large mass of land, which divides the northern side of Hudson's Bay into two great channels, involved Captain Parry in considerable perplexity. There were two lines of navigation by which he might reach the northern part of the Welcome, where his career of new discovery was to begin. One was direct and short, through what was called the Fox Channel, to the east of Southampton Island, and through the Frozen Strait of Middleton; the other was long and circuitous, by making the entire round of the island, and ascending the broad opening of the Welcome on

its western side. The difficulty was this: The deadly enemies and accusers of Middleton had stoutly maintained that there was no such thing in existence as his Frozen Strait, and that it was a chimera invented to discredit the existence of that passage, in which they so fondly believed. Captain Parry, after deep consideration, resolved to prefer the ocular testimony of Middleton to the reasonings of his opponents, and made direct for the Frozen Strait, though at the hazard of a heavy loss of time if it should not exist.

The movement up the channel was slow, still much obstructed, either by fields or floating masses of ice. On the 15th they came to what was apparently the extremity of Southampton Island, separated by a narrow strait from land to the north. On considering all things, it appeared most probable to Captain Parry, that this was the Frozen Strait of which he was in quest. He passed through it, and found himself in an immense and beautiful basin, forming one of the noblest harbours in the world; but every opening in it was found fast closed by land; and, on ascending a mountain, no trace appeared of an open sea in any direction. Near its entrance they observed a floe of several miles in extent, remarkable as having its entire surface covered with stones, shells, and plants; the former of which comprised garnet, quartz, and other beautiful minerals. These abounded as much in the centre as on the sides of the floe,—a phenomenon which Captain Parry endeavours to solve in various modes, none of which are satisfactory to himself. On this and on

every other part of Southampton Island where they landed, traces were found of the natives,—ruined huts, bones, and even fragments of seals' flesh, on which they had been feeding.

The expedition now weighed out of this bay, to which they gave the name of the Duke of York, and soon found themselves in another strait, which bore a much more promising appearance. At first indeed it merited to an alarming degree the epithet of frozen; but a fresh breeze springing up, and opening a passage between the ice and the land, in two or three days they made their way into an open sea bounded by an extensive range of land to the west and north. This to their great satisfaction proved to be the channel of the Welcome. With the exception of some of the latitudes, the whole aspect of the strait itself and the shores around it corresponded very exactly to the much-controverted and censured description of Middleton.

Having attained this leading point in his destination, the first object of Captain Parry was to examine Repulse Bay, in the view to ascertain whether it really was a bay, and did not contain an opening to the westward. Parties sent out in every direction soon established the accuracy of the former distinction, and the general correctness of Middleton's description. In this search they found several Esquimaux villages, one of which, the largest ever yet observed, contained the remains of no less than sixty habitations, with various fragments and implements characteristic of this wandering race. The shores were lofty, and some of

the mountains on the southern side rose 1000 feet high. But the circumstance which most attracted attention, was the extreme variation of the needle, which indicated a very close approach to the magnetic pole. The most valuable instruments operated with extreme sluggishness, and could scarcely be adjusted so as to afford any useful indications.

Having settled the point of Repulse Bay, Captain Parry proceeded onwards to investigate a coast which had been reached by no former navigator. His progress was retarded by the necessity of searching thoroughly every inlet and opening. The first, called Gore Inlet, was not found to reach deep into the land. The expedition was then involved in a labyrinth of isles of various forms and sizes, of which Vansittart Island was the longest. Between these there was found only one practicable passage, called Hurd's Channel. It was so intricate, however, so clogged with ice, and the currents often so strong, that the vessels, sometimes beset and sometimes drifted, spent a number of days in working their way through. Even after it was cleared, a severe gale threw them back on the 3d September to the very point at which they had been on the preceding 6th of August. Captain Parry was deeply mortified to find that he had lost the best of the season in merely verifying the observations of Middleton, against whom he lodges a somewhat heavy complaint for not having observed and described these coasts with greater precision. But the fact is, poor Middleton's accounts were distinct enough, if those at home would

have believed him; and to them were due all the weary toil and valuable time lost to the expedition in retracing his steps.

Captain Parry commenced now for the first time the career of completely original discovery. It was rendered, however, very tedious by the necessity of examining to its head every inlet or opening, any one of which might contain the sought-for passage. His first task was to penetrate through a winding inlet, running very far into the interior, to which he gave the name of his brother officer, Captain Lyon, and through a smaller one, which received that of Lieutenant Hoppner. These were also to be connected with Gore Bay. In the course of this examination there occurred a party of Esquimaux, who showed at first some timidity, but were soon induced to receive the English into their huts, and even, on promise of some iron tools, to repair to the boat. Here a busy traffic soon commenced, which proceeded with great harmony till it was interrupted by a particular incident. One of the ladies, in the course of trade, had parted with one of her boots, but rejected most positively every offer that could be made for the other, as well as every representation of the absurd and ridiculous figure which she thus made. At length suspicion was roused, and with very little gallantry the boot was forcibly taken off. Then, indeed, it proved a depository of hidden treasures, since no less than a pewter vessel and two spoons, stolen by this northern fair one, had been concealed in this capacious receptacle. Another boot, on examination, was found equally well furnished. This detection caused

only laughter on the part of the culprit, but Captain Parry's anger seems to have been somewhat vehemently roused. He not only upbraided the party, and stripped them of the stolen articles, but took away also the presents which he had given in pledge during the period of friendship.

While the expedition was still at the mouth of Lyon Inlet, the season had begun to present an alarming change. The short and faint summer of the arctic regions passes, not by insensible degrees, but abruptly, into the depth of winter. This change takes place; not when the snow begins to fall, for this is an event of every season, but when the earth no longer receives and radiates heat enough to melt that which falls. A coat of unvaried white then covers the ground, and, by preventing all absorption of heat, causes the frigorific process to proceed with the utmost rapidity. In many places, indeed, a small part of the surface of the snow had been dissolved, and then again frozen,—a phenomenon which distinguished this from the more severe climate of Melville Island, where, after the snow had once fallen, the sun's rays had not power to produce the slightest change on its surface. The stones and plants were incrusted with brilliant crystals of transparent ice, whose glittering hues, contrasted with the dead opake white of the surrounding snow, produced a novel and fairy appearance. At the same time the young, or pancake ice, began to form on the surface of the sea. This ice raises at first only a slight obstacle to the movement of a ship, which, favoured by the gale, can force its way through with tolerable speed; but

the impediment always increases, and the varying thickness of the ice causes the ship to roll from side to side, and to be only imperfectly under the control of the helmsman. "A ship in this helpless state, her sails in vain expanded to a favourable breeze, her ordinary resources failing, and suddenly arrested in her course, has often reminded me of Gulliver tied down by the feeble hands of Lilliputians." These difficulties were increased by the occurrence of twelve hours of deep darkness, scarcely illumined in any degree, even by the universal covering of snow. The small pieces of ice which had been floating about were now cemented together, and formed into a large compact body, here called "the ice," whose movements, as carried about by the wind, were a subject of perpetual alarm. At one time the entire body had entered the strait, and was bearing down upon the ships; but happily the wind veered, and it took a different direction. All these features indicated that it was time to look for some secure station in which to spend the long months of the northern winter. They could not, however, make their way to the continent, but were obliged to saw a passage for the ships into the heart of the nearest field of ice. In this operation the pancake ice bent like leather beneath their feet. Several fell in, and had a very cold bath, but they were easily extricated, and they could now walk between the ship and the land.

Being thus fairly shut in for the winter, Captain Parry applied himself with his usual activity to secure the health of the men during their long and dreary imprisonment. In this respect some improvements

had been taught by experience. The warming apparatus, prepared by Mr Sylvester, answered in a very superior manner the purposes both of heating and drying the apartments; and some mustard and cresses were even raised between decks. As the management of the mind was considered equally important, Captain Parry revived the scheme of dramatic performances, which he considers peculiarly valuable as an antiscorbutic; for cheerful and lively sensations, which contribute to health in general, act in a peculiar manner as preventives and cures of this dreadful disease, while their contraries always aggravate its malignity. The theatre was arranged in a style of superior elegance, and maintained a temperature at not quite thirty degrees below the freezing-point; dresses and decorations had been brought out, and the female performers, who had cherished a thick and bushy beard as a protection against the cold, generously reduced their visage to a becoming state of smoothness. On the 21st November the first bill was issued, Captain Parry appearing in the Rivals as Sir Anthony Absolute, and Captain Lyon as Captain Absolute. The representations were repeated every fortnight, and appeared to afford the men much amusement; but Captain Lyon admits that the performers, especially those who appeared dressed in the height of the fashion, suffered intensely from cold, which interrupted considerably even the enjoyment of the audience. A more solid and profitable mental occupation was afforded by a school, which the sailors set on foot for themselves, with the full approbation of their officers, who supplied materials, while teach-

ers were found within their own body. Few were wholly strangers to reading and writing; but many, from long disuse, found it necessary to begin at the first elements. With such ardour did their studies proceed, that Captain Lyon on Christmas-day received sixteen well-written copies from those who, two months before, could scarcely form a letter; and these sturdy tars felt a pride in their attainments like that of little boys at school.

The shortest day passed, without exciting the same deep interest as on Melville Island, where it had formed an era in their winter's calendar. Their wintering was no longer an experiment, and they had the sun three hours above the horizon, whereas at Melville Island, in the same season, deep and perpetual darkness had reigned.

The Aurora, about the period of the new year, shone with peculiar lustre, and presented the most brilliant aspects. For a long period it filled about half the northern sky, downwards from the zenith, but without approaching the horizon, where it seemed to find even a species of repulsion. The movement was in general that of rays streaming from a centre; but there was frequently an undulatory movement between one point and another of the heavens, which was compared to that of a riband held in the hand and shaken. There was also a profusion of those bundles of rays, moving with extraordinary swiftness in every direction, called by the vulgar "merry dancers." The light had always a tendency to form arches, often very striking and beautiful. Its lustre was about that of the moon in her quarters; and to Captain

Parry it appeared to have frequently a yellowish, white, greenish, and even lilac tinge; but Captain Lyon was sensible only of one similar to that of the milky-way, or of a vivid sheet of lightning. It has been said that the stars are seen through it unaltered; but they appeared to our present observers as if a fine gauze veil were drawn over them; the lustre of the Aurora itself, however, was undiminished by the brightest moon. No new light could be thrown on the origin and nature of this very remarkable phenomenon. It often seemed as if nearer than the clouds; yet the fact, that only the outer edges of any cloud were ever illumined by it, seemed to prove the contrary. It evidently, however, was within the region of the atmosphere, since in stormy weather the lights "flew with the rapidity of lightning, and with a corresponding wildness to the gale that was blowing, giving an indescribable air of magic to the whole scene."

During the first part of the winter, the only animated objects observed were those belonging to the lower creation. The most numerous were foxes, of which above a hundred were caught in the course of the season. They were beautiful, of a pure white colour, with woolly hair like that of a little shock-dog. Attempts were made, and with tolerable success, to tame some of them, and though always timid, they were made pets of by the sailors. Being generally fat, their flesh, in the great absence of fresh meat, was often presented at table, and was judged tolerable, somewhat resembling kid. A little animal, whose track was seen for several days about the ships,

was caught, and proved to be a very beautiful ermine. It was exceedingly fierce, yet did not refuse food, and might have been preserved, but was killed by accident. The surface of the sea was covered with myriads of shrimps, which clustered round the ships, and exhibited the most carnivorous propensities. The pieces of meat hung down the sides of the vessel were stripped completely to the bone, and could no longer be exposed in this manner, unless where it was wished to preserve the skeletons of any animals, when the shrimps were employed as their anatomists, and performed the task to admiration.

Another much more memorable occurrence, and of a more striking nature, now diversified their winter-quarters. On the 1st of February a report was made that a number of strange people were coming over the ice from the westward. The glass soon discovered them to be Esquimaux; and at the distance of two miles there appeared some slight prominences resembling huts. The two captains, with an officer from each ship, set out to meet these natives, who, to the number of twenty-five in a line abreast, were advancing slowly towards the ships. On the approach of the English they stood still, retaining their line, and maintaining a quiet and orderly demeanour, very dissimilar to those who had been met at the mouth of the Straits. A traffic was immediately commenced for nails, bits of iron, and beads; in the course of which treaty, as the ladies observed that some rich deer-skins in which they were clothed attracted the eye of the strangers, they

immediately began stripping them from off their persons, to the serious alarm of the English, who, in a temperature fifty degrees below the freezing-point, dreaded the most formidable effects to the fair traffickers, but were relieved by seeing another complete suit below. The English were then invited to the huts, and after stooping through some long narrow passages, found themselves, with great surprise, in a cluster of dome-shaped edifices, entirely composed of snow, which, being yet pure and unsullied, admitted the light in most delicate green and blue tints. They found six huts, each of which was divided into three apartments, occupied by separate families, so that the whole number was between sixty and seventy; of whom fifty most cheerfully accompanied the sailors back to the vessels, where the dispositions of the two parties were soon found altogether to harmonize; and dancing, shouting, screaming, and practical jokes of every kind, soon placed them on the most intimate footing.

A very close and constant intercourse was thus established, and maintained during the present, and with another party during the ensuing winter; and an opportunity was thus given of very closely observing this remarkable race, who present primitive and savage life under a different aspect than it appears in other and more smiling regions.

The stature of the Esquimaux is decidedly small, five feet nine inches being esteemed almost gigantic, while the men come so low as four feet ten inches, and the women as four feet eight inches, without being considered dwarfs. They are, on the whole, to-

lerably well-made, except that, though seldom or never inclined to corpulency, they are universally pot-bellied, and the neck is small and shrivelled. The face, in a great majority of instances, was broad and flat, with a low nose, the upper part of which was often stretched as tight as a drum. This form went sometimes so far, that a ruler could be placed from cheek to cheek of the northern belles, without touching the nose. The eye was small and black; sometimes fine and expressive; but the inner lid pointing downwards, in the Chinese style, gave the face a peculiar expression. Their frame, though inured to hard labour, was not sinewy, and the muscles, even of strong men, were round, and covered with flesh as in women. The skin was smooth, unctuous, and unpleasantly cold to the touch, but extremely tough. They were hardy, and patient of those fatigues to which they were daily inured, though they had never arrived at any insensibility to the extreme rigour of the climate. In a few exercises, as wrestling, which is practised by them from infancy, they are very powerful; but in lifting weights, and even in running and leaping, they were quite overmatched by the English sailors.

The dress of the Esquimaux, unlike the defective covering of other savages, is, through the necessity imposed by the climate, both ample and prepared with considerable care and skill. The chief material consists of the skins of deer, prepared by the females, according to a succession of judicious processes, the skin of the seal being employed only for water-proof boots. The leading articles of attire consist of jacket,

breeches, or short pantaloons, and a large hood, which may be drawn over the whole head. Each of these vestments is double, the interior portion having the hair or fur inside, next the skin, while in the exterior part this side appears outward. They are adorned with borders of white down, or stripes of coloured skins, which make an agreeable contrast with the rich dark colour of the fur. Their boots are most ample, and also double, with soft slippers intervening, and the whole is covered with strong seal-skin shoes. In summer, one pair of boots of seal-skin suffices to equip the lower extremities. The dress of the females is generally the same, though with some minor variations. They attach peculiar value to the breeches, and heard with pity and almost incredulity of their sisters in England being destitute of this valuable and comfortable branch of attire. The hood has a spacious aperture on one side, which serves as a cradle, in which to deposite the infant till it has reached the age of two or three. An apron hangs from the middle half way down to the knee. The boots of the fair Esquimaux are of the most enormous amplitude, resembling great leather sacks, the broadest part of which is at the knee, giving them a most deformed appearance, and causing a serious impediment to walking, which is necessarily performed with the legs spread out and the toes turned inwards, waddling like a Muscovy duck. In summer, a dress of the skins of ducks, with the feathers inwards, is found light and comfortable. A girdle is often worn, adorned with trinkets, chiefly of bone, with various trophies of ani-

mals killed in the chase. Although the skins of the Esquimaux were ten times warmer than the woollen dresses of the English, yet caprice and novelty caused them to give the latter a decided preference, and eagerly seek to possess them.

In the construction of their habitations, the Esquimaux employ still greater ingenuity, and are able, at little cost, to guard against the excessive rigour of the seasons. Snow, the most terrible product of the northern elements, affords the material with which they best defend themselves against this influence. The most commodious winter-houses are constructed altogether of snow. It is formed into blocks about 10 feet long and 4 to 6 inches thick, which, being laid over each other, and made to slope inwards, compose a regular dome, the key-stone of which, formed by a large smooth slab, is laid in such a manner as would satisfy the most regular architect. A window is formed by a broad piece of transparent fresh-water ice, forming part of the roof, and which transmits a most pleasing and tempered light, like that which comes through ground glass. A snow-village presents at first a number of cones, or apparent hillocks, eight or nine feet above the ground; but as snow and drift fill up the vacuities, the surface becomes nearly level, and men and animals walk over it in all directions; but as spring advances, and the thaw begins to melt and soften it, a leg sometimes presses through, and, appearing to the inmates beneath, gives warning of the dissolution of their frail tenement. The entrance to these mansions is by two successive passages, each about sixteen feet long, and

so narrow, that they can only be entered by stooping. These introduce the visitor into a circular dome or lobby, about seven feet square, and from which doors open into two or three apartments, which are occupied by separate families. In each apartment there burns throughout the winter a lamp suspended from the roof, with a wick of dried moss, fed by a piece of whale or seal blubber placed above, and which the heat causes to drip into the vessel. When the wick is lighted through its whole extent of eighteen inches, it affords a most brilliant and beautiful light, without any perceptible smoke or offensive smell. This lamp performs at once the office of cooking and heating the apartment, the temperature of which, in its immediate vicinity, is raised to 38°, but close to the wall falls to 23°; and these limits cannot be exceeded without threatening the dissolution of these singular habitations. The deficiency of warmth must be supplied by clothes. As spring advances their mansions begin to melt, and the dripping from the roof causes extreme annoyance. As soon as the first drip is felt, they endeavour to patch up the place with fresh snow; but the increasing heat soon becomes too much for them, and they suffer greatly, and contract severe colds, before the weather becomes so mild as to admit of going under tents. These tents are composed of seal and other skins, dressed in a peculiar manner, so as sometimes to become almost transparent; and they are rudely propped, not by wooden poles, but by the bones of the whale, walrus, and other large animals. In some places these tents, covered externally with snow, are

made to serve also for winter-habitations; but they are neither so convenient nor wholesome as those of which snow is the sole material. The air in them at the end of winter is described by Mr Edwards as "damp, hot, and beyond measure offensive, with putrid exhalations from the decomposing relics of offals, or other animal matter permitted to remain from year to year undisturbed in these horrible sinks."

Clothing and habitation, in the extreme rigour of this climate, take almost the precedence of food, yet it is obviously indispensable that the latter should follow. This food must be almost entirely animal, as the midsummer vegetation of the frozen regions is too scanty to afford even a vegetable seasoning. Subsistence is thus derived solely from the chase, which renders the life of the Esquimaux a series of perpetual activity and daring adventure. They experience similar difficulty from the scanty supply, not only of iron, but of wood; so that their weapons must be formed chiefly of bone, a clumsy and intractable material, and difficult to fashion. Their instruments are chiefly spears, of various forms and dimensions; one for the walrus and whale, a smaller for the seal, a very light one for the deer. Their bows are formed with difficulty, generally of pieces of bone secured together by rivets and tree-nails; but their chief power is derived from sinewy strings drawn across them. Captain Lyon holds their archery rather light; but Captain Parry states, that at twenty yards they hit a mark invariably, at thirty they came within a few inches of it, and at forty or forty-five, he thinks they would shoot a fawn standing still. In summer

their principal chase is for the deer, which go in large herds, and are so simple and curious, that it is often enough to walk away from them, and they are sure to follow. The musk-ox is also a frequent prey; and no hesitation is felt even to attack the bear, that grim tyrant of the polar regions. The dogs no sooner see this unwieldy animal, than, giving tongue, they chase, and keep him at bay, till their master comes up, strikes him with his spear, and, leaping from side to side, avoids the furious springs of the wounded animal, till he can again pierce him with his spear or large knife. Not a few, however, bear on their persons the memorials of these desperate encounters. Their hooks and line are imperfect, yet with these and the spear they take the salmon and a few other fish. In winter, when earth and sea present alike a frozen and naked surface, all these resources fail, and they would be exposed to perish, were it not for the huge amphibia, the walrus and the seal, and the necessity under which these animals lie of ascending occasionally to the air for the purpose of respiration. For this necessary object they find or form holes through the ice; which holes the Esquimaux, aided by his dogs, carefully traces. He then gets up a wall of snow as a protection against the wind and drift, beneath the shelter of which he sits sometimes for whole days, till the animal appears, and he rushes on him with his spear.

The Esquimaux possesses an advantage above almost every other savage tribe, in a most useful breed of domestic animals, used not for food, but for the chase, and also conveyance or draught. The Esqui-

maux dogs combine the qualities of the mastiff and the Newfoundland species; but their most striking resemblance, already remarked by Frobisher, is to the wolf; and this cannot be wondered at, since, by an anatomical examination, they are found to be no other than domesticated wolves. Nature, with her usual provident care, has protected them most wonderfully against the rigour of the cold, by a soft downy covering formed under the hair at the beginning of winter, and shed at the beginning of summer. They are thus so fortified, that they can lie all night in the open air, with the thermometer 30° degrees below zero, without any seeming inconvenience. Captain Parry allows the Esquimaux little credit for their training; and yet it appears that women take the puppies into their beds, and feed them from their mouths like children. At two months they begin to be put into the sledges, and to be broken in by frequent and sometimes cruel beatings. From this time indeed they are treated with harshness, and, in the periods of winter scarcity, obtain only a very small portion of food, and become excessively meagre. Three dogs, in good condition, will draw a load of a hundred pounds in six minutes; and they drove Captain Lyon from ship to ship in perfect safety, amid pitchy darkness and clouds of snow-drift, when he would have been wholly incapable of finding his own way.

From the above statement of the sources whence food is derived, it must be obvious that their supply will at many seasons be precarious; and it is rendered much more so by their improvidence and un-

restrained indulgence of their appetites, so long as a morsel remains. As soon as tidings reach a village that a walrus has been killed, a general shout of joy arises; the women run from hut to hut, and hug each other in an ecstacy of delight; sometimes they are absolutely frantic. The prize being deposited in the apartment of its captor, all the women run to cut out large slices and throw them into one pot, while the blood is poured into another. Every lamp is replenished with oil, and the huts exhibit a blaze of light. The cooking proceeds as fast as possible; but, in the meantime, delicate morsels of raw flesh or blubber are devoured; and even the children, getting between the parents' legs, hold up their mouths as in England for a piece of sugar-candy. The dogs rush in and lick the blood; but when they apply their teeth to any delicate morsel, a blow with the handle of the knife sends them off yelping. As soon as the mess is ready, one takes up a portion, bites off as much as his mouth can possibly contain, and hands it to his next neighbour, who passes it round, till it is finished, and a new piece is supplied. Very little pause intervenes till the whole is consumed. There were good grounds to calculate that each individual must have consumed an average of ten pounds; but though they were in the utmost distress, and rolling on the ground from excessive repletion, they still held on eating, and thus soon relapsed into extreme want. This devotion to the pleasures of the palate is accompanied with tastes very different from those of the European *bon vivant.* When gingerbread, sweetmeats, and other delicacies, considered likely to

please the savage palate, were tendered to a young Esquimaux, he ate them evidently in mere compliment to the donors, and with pain to himself; but when three pounds of hog's-lard were presented, his eyes sparkled with joy. Every thing was estimated according to its proportion of fat, grease, and oil. The first specimen given of this taste was at the purchase of a lamp from an Esquimaux female, the contents of which, composing nearly an equal proportion of soot and oil, she took care to empty into her stomach; after which she cleaned it thoroughly with her tongue, joining herself in the laugh at her face being thus rendered as black as a coal. Afterwards, when Captain Lyon had a handsome young lady on board, he presented her with a fine moulded candle, six in the pound; when having speedily and with the greatest delight devoured the tallow, she without hesitation undertook the wick; but Captain Lyon, apprehensive of the effect of this substance on her delicate stomach, insisted on pulling it out. Afterwards care was taken to collect the candle-ends and send them to the ladies, who always returned the most hearty thanks. A young Esquimaux being present while Captain L. was washing his hands, was observed to cast many longing glances at a large piece of yellow soap used in that operation; and his meaning being at length comprehended, it was presented to him, and eagerly devoured. This regimen, pursued during seasons of plenty, necessarily induces a very plethoric habit, which, though relieved by copious bleedings at the nose, renders them liable to inflammatory diseases. They were unacquainted with

and did not much relish ardent spirits or fermented liquors; but cold water they drank in most enormous quantities, sometimes amounting to a gallon at a time. This might be necessary to digest the huge quantities of fat swallowed; and, from the difficulty of thawing it, was a scarce winter-article.

The *morale* of the Esquimaux seems, on the whole, superior to that of most other tribes in the savage state. Their intercourse presents none of those dreadful scenes of blood, torture, and vengeance, which give so dark a character to the story of the American Indians. The most cordial harmony reigns among the inhabitants of neighbouring huts, and a walrus, or a seal, taken by one, is shared equally among all. This, it is true, is a sort of conventional arrangement, of which each in his turn shares the benefit; but it could not subsist without a general friendly spirit. This is contrasted indeed by some dark features. Individuals, who, from their situation, are likely to become permanent burdens on the society, experience much neglect even from pretty near relations. They may obtain subsistence amid the general community of food; but they have little care or tendance. It is considered inevitable that an infant which loses its mother at the breast must perish, and the belief naturally fulfils itself. Their honesty, on the first arrival of the British, was perfectly unimpeachable, and they had not even the idea of receiving any thing without giving an equivalent. This virtue was a good deal sapped by their continued intercourse with Europeans. Several thefts were committed, of which the one most regretted by the sailors was that of

their last roast of beef, as it hung down the ship's side. On these occasions the natives first denied the charge, in a very brazen and positive manner, yet, when detected, they only laughed. Still greater displeasure was felt at their want of gratitude, and the reproach often thrown out, that they had been injured, and even robbed by the Kabloonas, who, on the contrary, had fed them for weeks, and bestowed on them almost daily presents. Perhaps, however, the English had some blame on their side. It might have been better never to allow them to lose the idea of giving somewhat for whatever they received. The system of presents gave them an idea as if it was natural, and they had a right, to get the English goods without equivalent, and each, comparing the donations to himself with those to his neighbour, thought himself aggrieved if they were not at least equal. It is admitted also, though they were great gainers on the whole by the connexion, that some of the early exchanges were very disadvantageous, valuable furs having been given in return for mere trinkets and toys. This circumstance, which should not have been allowed, was afterwards discovered, and probably believed to exist, in a much greater extent than it really did. After all, their thefts bore only a small proportion to their opportunities, and between each other the strictest honesty was always observable.

The females fared better than is usual in savage societies. There was no agricultural labour to devolve upon them. They had merely the usual tasks of their sex in preparing the clothes with some skill, cutting up and half-dressing the victuals, and keep-

ing the house in very bad order. They stood nearly equal in the scale of society; and there seemed no want of conjugal affection, as young couples were often seen for a considerable time rubbing noses, which is the most decided proof of tenderness an Esquimaux can give. Yet they are much deficient in their ideas of female purity, and occasional breaches of conjugal fidelity are little regarded, even by the husband. They are an excessively merry and thoughtless race, and, even on the brink of famine, always ready to engage in their favourite dance, which consists in a few violent mechanical movements; in the song, consisting in some monotonous tones; and occasionally in other orgies, where decorum is not much regarded. Yet there is a great deal of propriety in their general outward deportment, and considerable care to conceal any irregularities into which they may have been betrayed.

The intellectual faculties of the Esquimaux fail not to obtain some development, amid a life of contrivance and adventure, and in the course of the extensive migrations which they undertake along the whole coast from Wager Inlet to the northern extremity of America; avoiding, however, Southampton Island, as being inhabited by a comparatively rude and barbarous race. The extent of their local knowledge was proved by the charts, which, after a little training, were furnished by "a wise woman," named Iligluick, who really surpassed in intelligence the rest of her sex. In consequence, however, of the attentions bestowed upon her, she soon showed that she inherited fully the frailty of our common nature, by

becoming completely spoiled, and behaving in so haughty and disdainful a manner, that nothing more could be made of her.

The Esquimaux, amid these attainments, have scarcely arrived at the power of forming any abstract ideas. They have reached the number *ten* by means of their fingers; but it is not without the utmost difficulty that they can mount to fifteen. Their religious opinions are not considered by Captain Parry as deserving the name; yet, perhaps, they may rank with the popular creed of the most learned ancient nations, unenlightened by revelation. The greatest power is in the hands of a female deity, called the Tornga, or the Aywillaiyoo, who is believed to have supreme rule over all animals, bestowing or withholding them at pleasure. She has also a boundless command over the lives and destinies of mankind, especially of women, rewarding the good and punishing the bad. Even in this simple society, there are persons who, by uncouth and fantastic rites, seek to attain the importance attached to communication and influence with superior beings. The chief magician was Toolemak, who boasted the power, either to evoke Aywillaiyoo, or, by descending to her subterraneous abode, to obtain from her the desired boons,—a successful pursuit of the seal, the walrus, or the deer. Captain Lyon was favoured by being present at one of these exhibitions of magic influence. Women and even boys being excluded, and the party arranged, the Esquimaux began raising the cry, 'Ali-ani-ani,' which was meant to charm the Annatko. "At every cry a wick was put out, till

the hut being nearly darkened, Toolemak, in a loud voice, began calling 'Tornga! Tornga! Pamiooli! Pamiooli! ya whoi! hooi! hooi!' by which time one solitary wick alone remained. The old woman began singing, and an indescribable screaming continued for some little time, until we were informed that Tornga refused to answer while any light remained. This was as I expected, and we were in instant darkness. Toolemak now set out to bring the enchantress. A low bass voice, which those who sat near me said was that of Tornga, soon chanted the same tune which I had heard on a former occasion. I found that the words were unintelligible, even to the natives. The song being finished, a variety of questions were asked by the Esquimaux in a hurried and lively manner, to which the spirit answered with great gravity. To the questions relative to the chase the replies were not very explicit, as it is the policy of the Annatko to leave a salvo for himself, which ever way the predictions may be fulfilled; and Aywillaiyoo sung in so strange a manner as to cause some little difficulty in the interpretation of her responses. Cries of more variety than I can pretend to describe, and the impatient screams and questions of the men, with the loud monotonous song of the old woman, continued for about half an hour; the solitary and powerful chant of the spirit was again heard, and she retreated as before. Toolemak, with shouts and strange noises, soon joined us, and his return to the world was hailed with great delight." Soon after, however, the conjurer being on a visit at the ship, was supplied with nine glasses of "hot water," as he

called it, when, being completely tipsy, he began his exorcisms; in the course of which he allowed all the mysteries of his art to escape. It then appeared that his voice, variously modified by the application of his hand or jacket to the mouth, was converted into that of Pamiooli, or the Torngа, and made a sound as if advancing or retiring. Their belief in spirits was curiously illustrated in the case of a native whom they called Old Kettle, and who being seated in a somewhat dark cabin, with a plentiful meal before him, was in evident distress, scarcely touching the food. On being questioned as to the motive of such an unprecedented line of conduct, he stated that a spirit was sitting opposite to him; and as his distress continued unabated, he obtained permission to drive it away. For this purpose he began to bellow like a bull, so as to make the whole ship ring; then, with collected breath, blew on the tips of his fingers; before which blast the spirit fled, and he began eating heartily.

The Esquimaux are not an exception to the universal belief of a future state, the idea of which is mingled, as usual, with sensible images and objects. The souls enter first a species of purgatory, a dreary comfortless region below ground, beyond which bad souls never penetrate; but the good pass through a second and third, which always improve till they come to the fourth, or the good land. Here the sun never sets; ice and snow are unknown, the ground is always green, and the souls dwell in tents by the side of large lakes, where the whale is always within

reach of the harpoon, and the deer of the arrow; thus life is a perpetual feast.

It is now time to return to the progress of the expedition. Captains Parry and Lyon spent the winter in anxious calculation of the probabilities of success in the following summer. The latter in March undertook a land-journey across Winter Island; but being overtaken by a most tremendous snow-drift, he and the rest of the party spent the night in a hole dug in the earth, which, by the aid of smoke, was with difficulty raised to twelve degrees below the freezing-point. Next day they groped their way back through the continued tempest, and were on the point of perishing, when they happily and unexpectedly lighted on the path leading to the ships.

On observing the extent of the geographical science possessed by Iligliuk, the English endeavoured to render it available for their purpose. They laid before that lady several sheets of paper, on which was a rude delineation of the coast known both to her and them, and, putting the pencil in her hand, invited her to continue the delineation. She began, but as she evidently paid little attention to the direction of the coast, care was taken to instruct her in this point by making her repeatedly box the compass. She then drew a long extent of coast stretching to the north, when her pencil began to take a direction to the west. The English watched now her progress with breathless anxiety, when they saw it continue still westward, till it began to turn to the south, delineating a shore which must face the west and the Polar basin. This

delineation accorded with their utmost wishes, and caused them to look forward with the most sanguine hope to the period when an open sea would enable them to verify this delineation.

Under these circumstances, it was a matter of deep disappointment when the month of May closed without any appearance of summer, such as had been seen in the northerly climate of Melville Island. Vegetation was but making its first infant efforts, and only a few dark patches diversified the unvaried covering of snow. They were tantalized by the view of an open sea without, while on every side the ships were enclosed with a mass of unbroken ice, more than a mile in extent. At length Captain Parry formed the hardy resolution of sawing through it; and the seamen with the utmost alacrity undertook this arduous labour. It was severe, not only as respected the sawing of the ice, but afterwards the removing it, as the sludge or saw-dust, as the sailors called it, soon cemented, and acted like oil between two plates of glass in keeping the sides united. At length, on the 18th June, they had just brought the passage to its completion, when a movement took place among the ice, which closed it up entirely. A new rent was, however, made in another place, which they endeavoured to make practicable, but it closed also, and they were almost in despair, when the whole mass, loosened by these operations, floated out to sea, and a passage lay open for them as soon as the wind should permit.

It was on the morning of the 2d July, after being nine months imprisoned in ice, that the expedition set sail in search of the strait which was to lead them in-

to the grand basin of the Polar ocean. They had a very favourable run, and next day found themselves at an island called by the natives Owlitteeweck, and said to form a considerable advance towards their destination. Some of their Esquimaux acquaintances there were vastly surprised to find that they had made as much progress in one day as had cost to themselves forty. They proceeded along an extended coast, leading northwards; but the formidable masses of ice, which, even at this Polar midsummer, were tossing about in every direction, exposed the ships to considerable peril. "Along the great icy field, which extended close to the coast, a large body of drift-ice was trailing. Of this a very heavy and extensive floe took the Hecla on her broadside, and being backed by another large body, lifted her stern as by the action of a wedge. The pressure must have been fatal to any less strengthened vessel, and would have proved so even now, had another floe backed the one which was lifting them up; but, happily, that on which they were borne burst upwards, and the ship righted, but was carried by the drift several miles south." The Fury, mean time, sustained several very violent pressures. At length a heavy floe, several miles in length, came driving fast upon her, giving reason to apprehend some fatal catastrophe. "In a few minutes it came in contact, at the rate of a mile and half an hour, with the point of the land-ice left the preceding night by its own separation, breaking it up with a tremendous crash, and forming numberless immense masses, perhaps many tons in weight, to the height of fifty or sixty feet, from

whence they again rolled down on the inner inland side, and were quickly succeeded by a fresh supply. While we were obliged to be quiet spectators of this grand but terrific sight, being within five or six hundred yards of the point, the danger to us was twofold; first, lest the floe should now swing in, and serve us much in the same manner; and, secondly, lest its pressure should detach the land-ice to which we were secured, and thus set us adrift, and at the mercy of the tides." Happily, however, neither of these alternatives occurred, and being speedily rejoined by the Hecla, Captain Parry proceeded with fairer prospects. The ground was now in a great measure clear of snow, torrents were dashing from the hills, and an agreeable verdure began to diversify many parts of the scenery. On the 13th they looked up a broad river called the Barrow, where they found a most magnificent waterfall descending amid finely-broken rocks, about ninety feet perpendicular. It was enlivened even by a rich vegetation, which delighted their eyes, so long accustomed to the dreariness of these frozen regions. Next day they came to Amitioke, which indicated a close approach to the expected strait; and near which those huge amphibia, the walruses, were seen in extraordinary numbers. In one place three hundred lay together, piled over each other in heaps of twenty or thirty. They showed very little discomposure, and even offered battle, the issue of which was, that three were killed, and their flesh found a very tolerable substitute for fresh beef.

On the 16th, after an unobstructed run, a great extent of high land came in sight, to the north and

eastward, which appeared to be that delineated in the Esquimaux charts as Keiyuk Tarruoke, and between which and the land the promised strait ought to be. The English pushed on, full of hope; but deep was their disappointment, on reaching the entrance, to find it crossed by a complete and unbroken sheet of ice, and that not common ice, but a floe so level and continuous that a single glance showed it to have been formed during the winter, and still firmly attached to the land on each side. They were now near an inhabited island, to which the name of Igloolik being attached, confirmed that this was the real strait.

Captain Parry spent nearly a month with little effect in endeavouring to work forward the ships against this formidable obstacle. He sent at the same time several land-parties in different directions, and at length determined to undertake an expedition over the ice across the strait, in order to discover what might be beyond. The party, consisting of six, travelled on foot, with a plank for crossing the pools and holes. Their march was pretty hard from the ruggedness of the surface and the frequent occurrence of open water, which they were sometimes obliged to cross on pieces of ice instead of boats. In four days they arrived at the narrowest point of the strait, about two miles across, and with a current of two knots an hour setting through to the eastward. "Beyond us, to the west, the shores again separated to the distance of several leagues; and for more than three points of the compass in that direction no land could be seen to the utmost limits of a clear horizon, except one island six or seven miles distant. Over

this we could not entertain a doubt of having discovered the Polar Sea; and, loaded as it was with ice, we could not but entertain sanguine hopes of forcing our way through it along the northern shores of America."

Captain Parry gave to this strait the name of the Fury and Hecla, and raised a pile of stones upon the promontory. He then made his way back to the ships.

He arrived in a critical and even auspicious moment. The great opposing floe, which had been exhibiting an always increasing number of cracks and holes, now broke up, and floated away to the eastward. The English immediately put the ships in motion, and began to push forward with such vigour, that, in spite of numerous obstacles, they in six days reached the narrowest part of the strait, which extended for three miles; after which, the shores, opening on both sides, appeared to present to them a full entrance into the Polar Sea. Just, however, as they were in the height of the most sanguine expectations, it was announced from the crow's-nest, that another barrier of fixed ice stretched completely across the strait, still occupying its winter-station. So soft and decayed indeed was the floe, that the ships forced their way three or four hundred yards into it, but could proceed no farther, and found their progress opposed by a barrier of the same continuous, impenetrable, and hopeless nature as at first.

The rest of the season was spent in vain attempts. In despair of the main passage, Captain Parry explored another channel, but found it to be merely

that of a deep inlet. Lieutenants Reid and Bushnan were sent on an expedition to the westward; and, having reached the top of a hill, ascertained fully the opening of the strait into the Polar Sea, but could discover no symptom of any disruption of the ice. At length frost began to resume its empire, and to reconnect by numberless links the older masses, on whose separation their hopes had been founded. The deer were seen travelling over the snow to the southward, and the ice was rapidly forming around the ships. There remained only the alternative of wintering in the middle of the strait, or of returning to take their winter-station at Igloolik; which last, after some deliberation, was judged to be the safest and most expedient course.

The winter was spent in every respect as before, in daily communication with another tribe of Esquimaux, who were acquainted with and every way resembled those at Winter Island. The spring was still more rigorous; and it was the 6th of August, 1823, ere, by sawing through a mile of ice with great danger, they could make their way into open water. There was little prospect of doing much in this short summer, and the expedition was not furnished with full provisions for another winter. In this crisis, Captain Parry, deeply reluctant to return with so unsatisfactory a result, had matured a very bold plan. The Hecla was to have been sent home, the greater part of the stores put on board the Fury, with which Captain Parry was to have adventured another winter, and taken the chance of what he might effect in this and the following summer. These arrangements

had actually been prepared, when a sudden notice arrested this adventurous navigator in his too daring project. The scurvy, of which some serious symptoms had been showing themselves from time to time during the winter, broke out with a violence hitherto unprecedented. The medical men reported their opinion, that a third dreary winter, in which they should be cooped up on shipboard amid the privations of the arctic zone, could not pass without the most hazardous consequences to the health of the crews. It would be rendered more serious by the increased labour and danger to which one ship would be exposed, and the privation of many salutary occupations, mental and corporeal, attending their combination. This advice was supported by the general opinion of the officers, and Captain Parry at length felt no alternative left but to make for England with all speed. In proceeding down the Fox Channel, both ships were entangled in the ice, and drifted about with it for twenty-four successive days, and they began to dread that it would be their lot to spend another winter under this frozen sky. On the 17th September, however, a westerly breeze carried them into an open sea; they were now finally extricated from the ice, and passed even the straits without any serious obstruction. Shaping their course across the Atlantic, they arrived on the 10th of October in Bressay Sound, Shetland. They were received, after this long absence, as half risen from the dead,—the bells of Lerwick were rung,—the inhabitants flocked from every quarter,—and joy was expressed as if each individual had a brother or a son

in the expedition. On the 12th they attended divine service, when the Rev. Mr. Menzies offered up a solemn thanksgiving for their safe return, calling upon them with earnestness never to forget Him to whom they owed their safety. They set sail on the 13th, and about the 18th entered the Thames.

The result of this expedition was quite decisive as to the hope of any regular passage being found by any of the channels in the northern part of Hudson's Bay. The constant and strong current setting in from the westward, through the strait of the Fury and Hecla, must always bring such masses of ice closely following each other as would, it was evident, render it for ever impracticable. This current even penetrated into the Fox Channel, by which the strait must be reached, and by bringing the ice along with it into that channel, must always render the navigation of it extremely dangerous. The very existence, however, of this current argued that of a great and open sea to the westward, and, combining the observations of Cook, of Hearne, of Mackenzie, and those recently made by Captain Franklin, which for the present we hold in reserve, it could scarcely be questioned that this sea reached to Behring's Strait; from which probably the current derived its origin. If then by any channel a ship could get into the open sea, and find itself sailing along the coast of America, the chance would be very fair of its effecting this long-sought and almost unhoped-for passage. To this object all concerned in the question now began to apply their minds. There occurred, in reference to it,

Regent Inlet, which Captain Parry had passed with very transient notice, and which had appeared to him of extremely slender promise. Experience, however, had shown that there was nothing which could be considered as fixed in the character and state of the arctic seas, and that one favourable moment might burst the most firm and apparently impenetrable barrier. That inlet, stretching south from Barrow's Strait, promised to lead directly into the great open sea of which the existence had been ascertained; and if, as appearance promised, it should have an opening to the southward, it might escape the influence of the great western current, which blocked up continually the strait of the Fury and Hecla. Under these impressions, Captain Parry was fitted out for a third voyage; in the early part of which he was to follow his original direction. He had now for his companion in the Hecla, Captain, formerly Lieutenant, Hoppner, as Captain Lyon was sent to Hudson's Bay on another mission, the fortunes of which we shall afterwards trace.

Captain Parry set sail from North Fleet on the 18th May, 1824, and in the middle of June had made his entry into Davis's Straits. Here, however, in the very threshold of his undertaking, he met with a most unexpected and vexatious delay. The season happened to be so peculiarly rigorous, that the maximum heat, which in the year before and the year after was 55° and 51°, was in this year only 36° 5. Hence the barrier of ice usually formed in the middle of Baffin's Bay remained immoveable; and in attempting to penetrate it the ships were repeatedly

beset and severely strained. In order to get round this barrier they were obliged to go as high as 74°; and the 9th of September, being nearly the close of the season, had arrived before they had succeeded in reaching its termination.

After the vessels had fairly turned this barrier, they were no longer incommoded by ice, and, crowding a press of canvass, they approached Lancaster Sound, and caught a glimpse of the high bold land on the north side of that magnificent inlet. The entrance was entirely free from ice, except here and there a *berg* floating about in solitary grandeur. Fresh obstacles, however, occurred, and it was the 26th before they found themselves in good earnest at the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet. They forced their way, with a heavy press of canvass, through many miles of tough young ice, when they found themselves along shore with perfectly clear water. Assisted by a fine breeze, they found themselves on the 27th at the entrance of Port Bowen, which, being known already as a safe harbour, was fixed upon as their watering-place. The chance of making a few miles farther was no sufficient motive to expose the ships to the imminent danger of being shut out from a winter-harbour, or even of being caught by the ice and drifted back to the eastward.

The navigators had now braved too many winters to find any thing very formidable in the prospect of spending another within the precincts of the frozen zone. By constant improvements they had overcome every danger and almost every annoyance which the utmost extremity of cold could occasion. By proper

clothing, especially of fur next the skin, which was found much more effective than double the quantity of woollens, they could be rendered nearly weather-proof; and a complete and uniform warmth of from 50° to 63° was maintained in the officers' cabins. The sensations, however, arising from the dreary uniformity of the scene were in no degree abated. "Winter after winter nature here assumes an aspect so much alike, that cursory observation can scarcely detect a single feature of variety. When once the earth is covered, all is dreary monotonous whiteness, not merely for days and weeks, but for more than half a year together. Whichever way the eye is turned it meets a picture calculated to impress upon the mind an idea of inanimate stillness, of that motionless torpor with which our feelings have nothing congenial. In the very silence there is a deadness with which a human spectator appears '*out of keeping*.' The presence of man seems an intrusion on the dreary solitude of this wintry desert, which even its native animals have for a while forsaken." It was therefore as necessary as ever to apply some stimulus to the mind of the sailors; and as plays had now palled by repetition, Captain Hoppner started the idea of masquerades, which seems less, if possible, in unison with the place and scene; but it was caught at with pleasure; the sailors entered into the spirit of it, and in their monthly entertainments of this nature much harmless humour is said to have been displayed. A more profitable and even seemingly a more effective influence was exercised by the schools,

which were again set on foot, and which nearly the whole crew attended either as scholars or spectators.

The spring was more favourable than they had found it in Hudson's Bay. On the 19th July, 1825, the floe which extended across the harbour separated, and by a very short sawing-process they were enabled in the morning of the 20th to warp out to sea. They now stood across the Inlet, and passed the most southerly of the Leopold Islands, which presented a very striking and magnificent aspect. Numerous strata of limestone, horizontally disposed, rose often to the perpendicular height of six or seven hundred feet, and resembled the walls and buttresses of some huge and impregnable fortress.

The vessels touched the continent near Cape Seppings, and thence proceeded down the strait. They met with considerable obstacles, and, by a singular anomaly, made more way with a contrary than with a fair wind. The north wind, which was fair, strengthened the ice, and brought down fresh masses, which the south wind opened and repelled. A considerable way had thus been made, when on the 30th a hard gale, blowing from the northward, brought in the ice closer and closer. Both ships received a severe squeeze, and the Fury was even forced ashore. She was extricated, however, without having sustained any very serious damage, and the two ships' heads had been again put in the right way, when on the 1st August the whole body of ice came in upon them, and the Fury was seen hard squeezed between a large floe and a mass of grounded ice on the beach.

Presently notice was sent that she had got a most serious "nip," and was taking in water. However, about the time of high water the ice slackened, the Fury came off the ground, and Captain Parry hoped that she had merely got a twist, and that when afloat and relieved from pressure, her leaks would be closed. It was most mortifying, therefore, to learn that she was now kept above water only by the action of four pumps, requiring the continued and exhausting exertions of both officers and men. The more strict the investigation, the more unfavourable was now the report of her condition, till they arrived at the sad conclusion, that the Fury could be made fit for sea only by heaving her down; and there was no harbour in which to perform that formidable operation. However, heaved down she must be; and by enclosing with anchors and bower-cables a space between the grounded ice and the shore, they succeeded in forming something, which had at least the appearance of a harbour. They began with the utmost diligence to unload her of the stores; but so ample were these, that several days were consumed in this task. Preparations were then made for heaving her down; but these were interrupted by a severe snow-storm and by movements of the external ice; and by this time the slender barriers, both natural and artificial, by which their harbour was secured, had in a great measure given way, and there was no situation left in which the contemplated operation could be accomplished with any safety. In this attempt, meantime, the vessel was again involved among ice, and her condition becoming always worse and worse, "her

holds full of water, and the damage of her hull, to all appearance and in all probability, more considerable than before, without any adequate means of hauling her off to seaward, or securing her from the further incursions of the ice," Captain Parry became convinced that "every endeavour of ours to get her off, or, if got off, to float her to any known place of safety, would be at once utterly hopeless in itself, and productive of extreme risk to our remaining ship." Not wishing, however, to rest so momentous a conclusion upon his own judgment only, he merely, without expressing any opinion of his own, asked Captain Hoppner, two lieutenants, and the carpenter, to make a survey of the Fury, and report upon her case. After strict examination, these officers reported, "that an absolute necessity existed for abandoning the Fury." Captain Parry's judgment being thus confirmed, he made immediate signals for the officers and men of this ship to carry their clothes on board of the Hecla. As there was not room both for men and stores, most of the latter were of necessity left either on shore or in the vessel.

This first disaster of the ships engaged in the career of north-western discovery gives Captain Parry occasion to make some serious reflections. The safety with which they had passed through so many vicissitudes had generated, both at home, and even somewhat, he says, among the officers themselves, an impression as if these vessels were invulnerable, and capable of standing any possible pressure to which they could be subjected. It now appeared too clearly, "that a ship, like every other work of man, sinks and must ever

sink into insignificance, when viewed in comparison with the stupendous scale on which Nature's works are framed and her operations performed; and a vessel, of whatever magnitude and whatever strength, is little better than a nutshell, when obliged to withstand the pressure of an unyielding ground on one side, and a moving body of ice on the other." One great cause of the disastrous action of the ice seems to have been the mildness of the season, causing it to break up into small fragments, which are in constant agitation, while in severer seasons it remains fixed in large floes or fields.

After so dreadful a disaster, every idea of prosecuting farther the objects of the voyage was of necessity abandoned; and it being now the end of August, there was just time to regain their native coast before winter. They had a favourable passage through Barrow's Strait into Baffin's Bay, which they found, as compared with its condition when they entered it, remarkably free from ice. After an easy passage across the Atlantic, they made their way round the northern border of the Orkney Islands to Peterhead, and thence to the Thames.

CHAPTER V.

ARCTIC LAND-EXPEDITIONS.

Plan of penetrating by Land to the Arctic Sea.—Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson.—They reach the Arctic Sea.—Voyage along its Coast.—Disastrous Return.—Second Expedition.—Arrival at the Mouth of the Mackenzie River.—Voyage of Captain Franklin.—Of Dr Richardson.—Return.—Captain Lyon's unsuccessful Attempt to penetrate across Repulse Bay.

WHILE efforts thus energetic and daring were made to penetrate by sea along the northern boundary of America, other plans occurred, by which its discovery might be effected with still greater certainty, and navigation might thus be ultimately promoted. The expeditions of Hearne and Mackenzie had proved, what that of Captain Parry had fully confirmed, that there was a northern coast, probably of great extent, and very probably forming a continuous boundary to the continent; and they had proved also the possibility of reaching this coast by a long land-route over the vast frozen plains that stretch northward from Canada and Hudson's Bay. An expedition, duly

fitted out and provided, *must* then reach this arctic shore, and might explore its whole extent. It would then, in a great degree, have fulfilled the object contemplated, and might pave the way for a more successful maritime career than could be accomplished without this knowledge. The command of the expedition was assigned to Lieutenant Franklin, accompanied by Dr Richardson, who was to employ his scientific knowledge, particularly in exploring the mineral structure of the newly-discovered regions.

The expedition sailed from England on the 23d May, 1820, arrived at York Fort, in Hudson's Bay, on the 30th August, but could not set out on their journey till the 9th September. They judiciously chose, not the most direct line, but that which was best known from being the beaten track of the fur-traders. They had first to ascend Hill River, so named from numerous eminences on its banks; one of which, rising to 600 feet, presented a view of thirty-six lakes. They had a laborious course, being often obliged to drag the boats by ropes, and to carry the goods across several portages. After reaching the head of Hill River, they embarked on the Echimamys, which conveyed them down to Lake Winnipeg, where, after a short halt at Norway-House, they ascended the Saskatchawan to Cumberland-House on Pine Island Lake. Cumberland-House is merely a cluster of log-huts, surrounded by stockades, with windows of parchment instead of glass. There are about sixty men belonging to the Hudson's Bay and North-west Companies who depend chiefly for food

on the hunting of the Cree Indians,—a precarious supply, which Williams the governor was endeavouring to improve by planting grain and pot-herbs and rearing domestic animals; all which he hoped to effect. These Indians, by the French called Knistenaux, are now reduced to the number of five hundred, scattered over an extent of twenty thousand square miles. They are no longer that fierce and warlike race who once spread terror over all this part of the continent. European protection has put an end to the wars waged among themselves; but, at the same time, it has inspired them with a passion for that liquid poison which the traders give in exchange for furs, and which keeps them in a perpetual state of squalid poverty. They continue, however, remarkably honest. In autumn the traders advance to them all the implements of their chase, in the confidence of its products being brought for sale, which is seldom disappointed, and only under the irresistible temptation of rum. They retain also the generosity of the savage character, each hunter sharing food while he has it with the rest of the encampment; and while he has rum, allowing to them as ample means of intoxication as himself. He assumes indeed a great air of superiority, and in general makes enormous boasts, partly, it is supposed, with the view of terrifying any who might be disposed to meditate an aggression. The female part of the society did not appear to be treated with such severity as among the Indians observed by Hearne. They are not indeed allowed to eat with their lords; but their work is chiefly that which falls naturally to the lot of

their sex,—cooking, preparing the hut, dressing skins, &c. Their conduct is not quite so exemplary as might be desired; they are not only very unguarded before marriage, but subject to matrimonial slips, which excite often severe though not deadly acts of revenge on the part of the husband. That the ladies had not been much improved by their European acquaintance was especially inferred from the numerous race of half-breeds, who combined the bad qualities of both the races from which they sprung. Wives are often also subjected to sale, being put up at various rates according to their qualities, but scarcely ever equalling that of a team of dogs. These Indians have gods, whom they call Waesackootchacht and Kepoochikawn, and to whom they ascribe various adventures. Their mythology is on the whole wonderfully complicated; but their chief act of worship is stewing themselves half an hour in a hot vapour-bath. There are several conjurers laying claim to supernatural power, which they prove by allowing themselves to be tied hand and foot, and then breaking loose by an alleged superhuman energy. One of them, on promise of a handsome great-coat, undertook to make a display of his powers before the English. A conjuring-house was constructed, by fixing in the ground four willows, joining their tops, and covering the whole with a moose-skin. The worker of wonders was then fast tied, and placed under this covert, while the Europeans and Indians formed a ring round him, to view his miraculous liberation. He began chaunting a monotonous

hymn, which continued for about half an hour, when the conjuring-house began to shake violently, and the Indians called out that the devils were now at work; but, notwithstanding the most violent agitation which the conjurer kept up for a long time, his release was not effected. The truth is, he had calculated on being tied by an Indian knot, which could be shaken loose without the exercise of any miraculous energy; whereas the task had been intrusted to a British tar, who made a point of showing himself no novice in the business. After exhausting himself in vain efforts, the hapless conjurer gave in,—cried for help,—and, on being set loose, fled at full speed from Cumberland-House, covered with confusion.

The frost had now set in so intensely that all idea of reaching the polar sea this season was out of the question. Mr Franklin, however, with the view of being nearer the coast, and collecting information respecting it, pushed on to Carlton-House, on the Athapescow, or, as he calls it, Athabasca Lake. He left behind, however, the stores and materials of the boats under the charge of Dr Richardson and Lieutenant Hood, and set out himself with all the equipments of an Arctic journey,—the snow-shoe, so skilfully contrived, that European art has been unable to improve it,—the dog-sledge made of thin wooden boards,—the capot, or great-coat, with hood going under the fur-cap,—the leathern trowsers,—and a blanket over all. Three dogs drew a weight of 300 pounds, but did not travel more than fifteen miles a-day.

Carlton-House is a mere provision-post, without any advantage for the trade in furs. The Stone Indians, who occupy this neighbourhood, are a handsome, rather tall race, with a light copper complexion and a profusion of black hair. They have a prepossessing appearance, large and expressive eyes, a bold forehead, and somewhat high cheek-bones. They do not, however, correspond with the Crees, either in docility or honesty. They have adopted a creed, according to which all animals were created for the common behoof of mankind; each man is therefore at full liberty to appropriate all which he can use or obtain. This does not rest a mere speculative belief; and should any one thwart them in its practical application, they do not hesitate to enforce their doctrine by shooting him through the body. The colonists are apt to take a different view of the subject; which variation of sentiment renders it unsafe for them to go out unless well armed and in parties. These Indians take the buffalo also in what they call a pound,—a space of a hundred yards diameter, enclosed by stakes, into which the animals are terrified by loud shouts and the firing of guns. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this race is peculiarly subject to goitres, that scourge of the Alpine regions: this cannot arise from snow-water; for the hunters, who for months in the winter drink nothing else, recover under this regimen; while, on returning to the fort and drinking the rivulets which flow into the lake, they suffer a speedy relapse. These facts seem to favour the hypothesis, which ascribes the disease to calcareous impregnations, which really

are here prevalent, especially those formed by a species of magnesian limestone.

Early in spring 1821, Captain Franklin began to move, and on the 26th March reached Fort Chepewyan, at the opposite extremity of the Athabasca Lake. This is a considerable establishment on a rocky point in the lake, with a watch-tower. Those stationed there during summer depend for food entirely upon the fishing; but in June the snow melts, the country appears well-wooded, and is covered in a few days with a brilliant vegetation. It draws furs from about two hundred and forty Chepewyan Indians,—a race with broad faces, projecting cheek-bones, and wide nostrils; determined incorrigible beggars, yet tolerably honest, and so imbued with national pride that, while they give to other nations their proper appellations, they call themselves, by way of eminence, "the people."

At Fort Chepewyan, the whole expedition were collected, and set forth on their purpose of discovery. After travelling the shores of Great Slave Lake, they reached, on the 1st September, a spot on Point Lake, which they called Fort Enterprise. Here the surrounding country had quite a Lapland aspect, and was entirely covered with herds of rein-deer. The Copper Indians, who occupy this neighbourhood, generally resemble the Chepewyans, but are accounted more amiable, and show often great kindness of disposition. On the 14th June the party left Fort Enterprise, and passed over a number of frozen lakes, where, however, the ice being broken in many places, rendered their path dangerous, and sometimes took them up to the waist. On the 1st July, how-

ever, they embarked on the Coppermine River, and had then a course clear before them. But the channel was not wholly clear of ice, and they were involved for three miles in a succession of rapids, where the boats were obliged to shoot through large stones, a collision with one of which would have destroyed them. At length the approach to the sea was indicated by the appearance of small parties of Esquimaux; whereupon the Coppermine Indians, who had been engaged as guides, determined not to expose themselves to contact with that people, of whose ferocity they gave the most dreadful reports, and between whom and their nation there reigns in fact a rooted enmity. No entreaty or remonstrance could dissuade them from their resolution; and the English were thus deprived of their services as hunters, on which they had mainly relied for a regular supply of provisions.

On the 21st July, after a journey of 334 miles from Fort Enterprise, Mr Franklin and his companions had the satisfaction of embarking on the Arctic Ocean, and commencing their career of discovery. For four days the coast stretched almost due east; and, notwithstanding impediments of winds, ice, and tides, they made a course of four degrees of longitude. The shore, at first well covered with vegetation, presented afterwards the most sterile and inhospitable aspect, and consisted only of a series of trap-rocks, which covered with their *debris* all the intervening valleys. There was an open channel immediately along the coast, but without were crowded ranges of rocky and barren islands, on whose

shore rose high cliffs of a columnar structure. To successive groups of these islands Mr Franklin gave the names of Couper Berens, (Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company,) Sir Graham Moore, Vice-Admiral Lawford, Sir Everard Home, Professor Jameson. A considerable quantity of drift-wood, of which no trace had appeared in the Coppermine River, but which was known to be brought down by the Mackenzie, formed an important indication of a current and open sea to the westward.

On the 25th, the boats were involved in a very thick fog, and the sea was encumbered with large masses of drift-ice, through which it was extremely difficult, amid the darkness, to shape their way. The coast, composed of craggy granite cliffs, allowed no landing, and rendered their situation singularly dreary, desolate, and perilous. The fog, clearing partially on the 25th, showed a bold cape which they had just doubled, and to which they gave the name of Mr Barrow. They then penetrated through a narrow and ice-entangled channel, between what they supposed to be an island and the main; but after they had passed it, both sides proved to have been continent, and they were in a close bay or harbour. The same wind, too, which had blown them in, made it impossible to get out, and here they were kept enclosed for some days, while there was a fair wind in the open sea. They called this Detention Harbour, and it is a good one, situated in latitude 67° 53′ N. longitude, 110° 41′ W.

The party remained in this tantalizing position till the 29th July, when, by favour of a land-breeze,

they got themselves out. They then rounded what they called Cape Kater, and entered a deep gulf, to which they gave the name of Arctic Sound. They found themselves now at the mouth of a river; and as their provisions were becoming spoiled, and, moreover, scanty, a party was despatched upwards, to open, if possible, a communication with some Esquimaux hunters. No Esquimaux were found; but they caught two deer and a brown bear; the paws of which were boiled by the officers, and found excellent food.

The expedition now proceeded along the eastern shore of Arctic Sound, to which they gave the name of Banks's Peninsula; and after sounding Point Woollaston, they found themselves in another large opening. Unable to determine whether it was a bay or a channel between islands, they were obliged to spend several days before they ascertained it to be a very long inlet, stretching north and south. They called it Bathurst's Inlet, and gave the names of Goulburn, Elliot, and Cockburn, to several large islands on its western side.

On the 10th of August, the boats had again reached the open sea, and were holding apparently a prosperous course, between the continent and a large island, when, to their utter dismay, this island proved to be part of the mainland, and they were again in the centre of a large bay called Melville Bay, and from which there branched several smaller bays, to which they applied the names of Sir W. J. Hope, Sir G. Warrender, and Captain Parry.

The canoes now again found their way into the

open sea, and the commander had his attention strongly called to the state of the expedition. They were reduced to three days' provisions, were without fuel, and the season threatened more and more to become unfavourable. So much time had been lost in exploring these deep sounds and inlets, that all hope was over of reaching Hudson's Bay, and accomplishing the full objects of the expedition. These circumstances considered, Mr Franklin felt himself not justified in exposing himself and his companions almost to certain destruction by an attempt to push his discoveries farther. He sailed three days along a coast which extended directly north, till he came to a cape where there was an appearance of the coast again assuming an easterly direction. This cape, in lat. 68° 18′ N., and long. 109° 25′ W., he called Turnagain, as being the point where he was compelled to perform this operation; and though it was only six degrees and a half east of Coppermine River, they had sailed 555 geographic miles in order to reach it.

The question now arose, by what route or resources they were to effect their return, destitute as they were of food, or any provision for traversing so vast an extent of the Frozen Regions. The route by which they came had the great advantage of being a known route; yet it was very circuitous, and the supplies of food, now so urgently wanted, were extremely uncertain. It was, after full consideration, resolved that they should endeavour to penetrate direct to Fort Enterprise from Arctic Sound, by the way of Hood's River, which falls into that sound.

In their return from Point Turnagain, the ex-

pedition sent parties to hunt on shore; but as their exertions were not successful, they were put upon a single and scanty meal of pemmican in the day. On the 23d they arrived at the broad channel of Melville Sound; but it was agitated by a strong wind and heavy sea, which rendered their frail canoes very unfit to make the traverse; however, the pangs of hunger overcame the sense of danger, and they pushed across; with the utmost difficulty the canoes were kept from turning their broadsides to the waves, and one of them in the middle of the channel was nearly overset. On the opposite side they found a rocky shore, on which a heavy surf was beating, and towards which the wind was driving them. They sought in vain any sheltered nook, and at length, finding a spot of sandy beach, they ran the ships ashore upon it, fortunately with little damage.

Having now entered on Hood's River, which it was fondly hoped would bring them towards Fort Enterprise, they got on tolerably, finding some fish in the waters, and the hunters ever and anon bringing in a deer or musk-cow, which kept them above absolute want, though always on the brink of it. On the 26th they came to some magnificent falls, the entire height of which was 250 feet, and to which they attached the name of Mr Wilberforce. This grand natural feature was the commencement of their evil destiny. The river above was found at once so rapid and so shallow, that the canoes could not navigate; it was therefore necessary to frame out of their materials two smaller ones, and place them on the back of the travellers, to be employed in passing any

river or lake which might cross their path. They were now obliged to proceed on foot; still they got on tolerably, receiving from time to time seasonable supplies. On the 4th September, however, there came on so severe a storm of snow as made it impossible either to proceed or to seek for victuals. Being destitute of fuel, they were obliged to remain two days in bed, unable to protect themselves by blankets from the severity of the frost. Even when enabled to move on the 7th, the deep snow allowed them to walk only in file, the Canadian voyagers being placed in front to make a path for the rest. Few animals now appeared; and the travellers, exhausted by want of food, were no longer equal to the task of pursuing and bringing them down. These severe distresses led to others unexpected and still more dreadful. The voyagers, and Indians hired as servants, felt themselves, in this extremity of evil, restored to their state of natural equality. They assumed even airs of superiority, in consequence of their greater skill in hunting rendering the English in a great degree dependent upon them. They were very ill qualified, however, to provide even for their own safety. They grumbled at the burden of carrying two canoes, and performed the task in so careless and wanton a manner, that one was destroyed and the other rendered nearly unserviceable. They had the extreme folly to throw away their fishing lines, which might have proved of the very greatest service. These errors became fearfully manifest, when they arrived on the borders of an extensive sheet of water, of which the eye could not discover the boundary. After proceeding for

some space westward, they found a river issuing from it, on the smoothest part of which, immediately above a rapid, they launched the shattered remnant of their canoe. The breeze being fresh, it became difficult to manage this frail vessel. "The current drove us to the edge of the rapid, when Belanger unfortunately applied his paddle to avert the apparent danger of being forced down, and lost his balance. The canoe was overset in consequence in the middle of the rapid. We fortunately kept hold of it until we touched a rock where the water did not reach higher than our waists. Here we kept our footing, notwithstanding the strength of the current, until the water was emptied out of the canoe. Belanger then held the canoe steady, while St Germain placed me in it, and afterwards embarked himself in a very dexterous manner." Belanger himself, however, could not be embarked, and, after long struggling in the water, was only drawn to the shore by means of a cord, and arrived perfectly insensible from the effects of cold; but, being by Dr Richardson's desire put to bed, and two men lying down beside him, he was gradually restored to sense.

Their situation became now daily more distressing. The gun no longer supplied them food, and life was preserved only by a nauseous vegetable called *tripe de roche*, which acted upon several as a purge. This meagre food not only caused an always increasing decay of strength, but rendered them unable to withstand the cold, which no blankets could prevent from piercing through and through their bodies. They were successively obliged to leave

behind them their instruments, specimens, and all they had collected in the course of the voyage. The men again let fall the canoe, which was severely broken, and were in vain entreated by the officers to carry it forward, even in its shattered state, when it might still have been made to serve them at an extremity. This crisis soon arrived, when they came to the broad channel of the Coppermine River, and searched in vain for a ford at which it could be passed. Yet either they must cross, or an immense and calamitous *detour* must be made round Point Lake. It was proposed to frame a raft of willows; but this was rejected by the men as impracticable, and they began defiling along the lake, in hopes of finding pine-branches fitted for the purpose. Happening to light on the remains of a putrid deer, which afforded an unexpected breakfast, their spirits got up, and they resolved to make trial of the willows. By binding fagots together, they fashioned a raft, which could support one man at a time; but they had no means of conveying it across without oars, or any pole which could reach the bottom. The only hope was, if a line could be got to the opposite shore, by which the raft could be dragged across. Dr Richardson generously undertook to convey one by swimming, and launched into the stream with the line tied round him. Soon his arms became benumbed; but, turning on his back, he continued to move on, till his legs also became powerless, and he sunk. By hauling the line, he was brought first to the surface, and then back to the shore, but almost lifeless. However, being wrapt in blankets, and

placed near a good willow-fire, he revived in a few hours, though, from too sudden exposure to heat, the skin of his left side was deprived of feeling, which it did not recover till the following summer. As his clothes were taken off in this process, the very voyageurs beheld with dismay his emaciated frame, and, seeing their own condition in his, exclaimed, *Ah! que nous sommes maigres!*

After this failure, the spirits of the troop sunk into a state of despondence, and they could scarcely be induced to collect the scanty but necessary food which the rocks afforded. At length, St Germain, one of the voyageurs, suggested that something of the nature of a canoe might be made out of the canvass in which they wrapped their bedding. The proposal was approved, and the seams were covered up with pitch obtained from some small pines on the shore. On the 4th October the canoe was launched; St Germain entered it, and amid the eager gaze of the whole party fixed upon him, and, under ardent prayers for his success, he made good his object of reaching the opposite shore. The canoe was then drawn back, and one after another passed over, till the whole were happily mustered on the opposite bank.

After having achieved this passage, the party set out at first with considerable spirit; but the privations under which they suffered pressed continually harder and harder upon them. The depth of the snow, and their own exhaustion, prevented them from obtaining any food except the *tripe de roche*, which scarcely sufficed to maintain life; and the only ad-

dition obtainable was by boiling or singeing their old shoes. On this wretched fare their strength and powers of exertion sunk to the lowest pitch. Several, and particularly Lieutenant Hood, a promising and much-beloved young officer, became unable to move, unless at a rate disastrously slow. Lieutenant Beck had already been sent forward with several voyageurs to Fort Enterprise; that he might find or seek the Indians, and urge them to hasten to meet the party with a supply of fresh provisions; and Dr Richardson, with a man of the name of Hepburn, undertook to remain with Mr Hood till relief could be forwarded.

Captain Franklin set out; but several of the party, in dragging themselves through marshes and deep snow, soon foundered, and it was necessary to send them back. After several days of sore toil and hunger, the marching party at length came in view of Fort Enterprise. In approaching they were variously agitated between hope and fear. No symptoms of life appeared, and on entering, with the deepest disappointment, they found it utterly desolate. There was neither provision, nor any trace of Indians, nor any letter to report where they were to be found. The doors of the principal apartment had been thrown open, and carelessly left so; and the wild animals of the woods had resorted to it as a place of shelter. Their own condition was thus rendered dreadful, and they were still more distressed in thinking of their companions, whom they had left in the depths of the frozen wilds, and whose relief was thus indefinitely postponed. It was necessary, however, to make the

best of their condition. They collected in the house and in its vicinity, pieces of the skins and bones of deer, the refuse of former meals. The skins were singed, and being pounded, made, with the *tripe de roche*, a sort of weak soup. Captain Franklin then, with two of the most vigorous of his companions, set out in search of the Indians; but soon found himself so exhausted, that he was obliged to return. They continued to grow weaker and weaker on their miserable diet of skin and bone, being tantalized with the view of herds of deer, which they attempted to shoot, but none of them were able steadily to hold the gun. On the 29th, after they had been here about three weeks, a voyageur called out, *Ah! le monde!* and Dr Richardson and Mr Hepburn entered the room. Each party presented to the other a deplorable spectacle, and the small number of the newcomers inspired alarms, which were but too well justified, when Dr Richardson had leisure to relate his story.

Of the companions whom Captain Franklin had sent back, only one rejoined Richardson's party, who was Michel an Iroquois; and the account he gave of the other two was so indistinct and unsatisfactory as gave rise afterwards to the darkest suspicions; but these did not at first occur; and Michel bringing with him a hare and a partridge, was received almost as a deliverer. He assisted in removing the party to a spot which Captain Franklin had desired them to point out as more commodious. Next day he brought them a piece of flesh, which he represented as part of the dead body of a wolf; but they had afterwards

too much ground for the frightful suspicion that it was a part of one of his slaughtered companions. From this time the conduct of Michel became more and more strange, wild, and insolent. He refused, under various and frivolous pretences, to go out to hunt, notwithstanding the urgent necessity. On one occasion he used the strange expression,—"It is no use hunting,—there are no animals,—you had better kill and eat me." Mr Hood seems to have held long and somewhat warm arguments with him. One morning, as Dr Richardson had gone out to gather *tripe de roche*, and Hepburn to cut wood, the report of a gun was heard. The doctor did not at first much attend to it, till he was summoned by Hepburn with a voice of alarm. He ran to the tent, and saw Mr Hood lying lifeless by the fire, a ball having pierced his forehead. He was at first struck with horror at the idea that his friend had been hurried into the crime of suicide; but another suspicion instantly arose when he observed that the ball had entered at the back of his head, and come out at the forehead, and that only a second person could have placed the muzzle of the gun in such a position as to inflict the wound. The dark surmise which thus arose against Michel was confirmed by many particulars in his conduct. He watched carefully to prevent the two others from being alone, or having any communication together; and though they durst not show any signs of their secret suspicions, he was continually asking them if they thought him capable of such an action as that of murdering Mr Hood.

As Mr Hood's situation had been the only cause of

remaining here, Dr Richardson determined no longer to delay his departure for Fort Enterprise. They singed the hair off Mr Hood's buffalo-robe, and obtained some meals out of it. On the road there arose fresh ground to conclude, not only that Michel had been guilty of Mr Hood's death, but that he was meditating the same fatal design against the two survivors. He was constantly muttering to himself, and throwing out threats against Hepburn, whom he accused of having told stories against him. He expressed an unwillingness to go to the fort, and threw out obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow. He assumed unwonted airs of superiority over his companions, showing that he considered both to be completely in his power, and venting expressions of hatred against the whites, whom he even accused of having killed and eaten an uncle and two of his other relations. In fact, his strength was much superior to theirs united, and he was completely armed. In the afternoon he halted on pretence of gathering some *tripe de roche*, when Richardson and Hepburn had an opportunity of communing together, and communicating various particulars not before known to both; whence they came to the conclusion that Michel was only using them at present to show him the way, of which he was ignorant, and that he would certainly kill them before their arrival. There was therefore no safety but in anticipating his purpose. Hepburn offered to do the deed; but Dr Richardson determined to take the whole responsibility upon himself, and as soon as Michel arrived, went up and shot him through the head. The necessity was ter-

rible, but the facts detailed respecting the conduct of this ruffian seem clearly to have left no alternative.

Dr Richardson and Hepburn found now no obstacles in slowly dragging their exhausted frames to Fort Enterprise. It was discouraging, as they approached, not even to see the mark of footsteps on the snow; but on attaining an eminence they saw smoke issuing from one of the chimneys. They entered with hope, which was instantly chilled by the wretched and desolate aspect of the mansion, and the ghastly visages and sepulchral voices of Captain Franklin and his companions. They joined themselves now as fellow-sufferers, and being in a state of somewhat greater vigour, could afford some aid to the rest. The condition of the whole party became worse every day. Their stock of bones was exhausted, and the separation of the skin from the hair was so troublesome, that they had less leather than they could have contrived to eat. Their thoughts now dwelt incessantly on food, and, even in slumber, fancy placed before them superb feasts, at which they were sated with every delicacy; but on awaking, the pangs of hunger were as strong as ever. The gloom was increased by the death of two of the voyageurs and the alarming weakness of a third. They sought, as they had happily done throughout, the consolations of religion, regularly read prayers and a portion of scripture morning and evening, and conversed on religious subjects. They had no longer strength of mind, however, to speak directly of their situation, or even of their hopes of relief. Indeed a weakness of intellect was stealing over them, of which each

was sensible, at least in his neighbour. Their temper, in particular, almost entirely gave way, and Captain Franklin admits that he himself became excessively peevish. Even when their strength was unequal to tasks which they had undertaken, they ungraciously rejected proffers of assistance; and when any one ventured to suggest a change of place or posture, which did not exactly accord with the other's inclination, his kindness met an angry return, which was soon apologized for, yet soon after repeated. They were approaching to the greatest extremity, and the last voyageur was just dying, when Richardson and Hepburn, walking out to cut wood, heard the report of a musket. They were instantly all attention, and the first noise was soon followed by a shout, and quickly there appeared three Indians. They were known by the names of Boudel-Kell, Crooked Foot, and the Rat; who, as soon as Mr Beck brought intelligence of the state of the party, had hastened from the camp of Akaitcho, their chief, with a supply of victuals. Dr Richardson immediately went in to Captain Franklin, who had been alarmed by the noise, told him that deliverance was come, and they joined in thanksgivings at the throne of mercy. By a natural imprudence they ate a great deal more than was safe after so long a fast, which they excuse on account of the weak state of their minds; and even Dr Richardson, while exhorting the rest to moderation, over-ate himself. They suffered severely in consequence, and the supply being small, was soon exhausted, when the Indians suddenly disappeared, and left them under the dread of being again involved in

their former famine. These kind creatures, however, appeared next day with a larger supply; and the party now lost no time in leaving Fort Enterprise, where they had formerly experienced much comfort, if not happiness, and latterly a degree of misery scarcely to be paralleled. In ten days they arrived at the tent of Akaitcho, who received them with the most friendly hospitality. Thence they proceeded to Moose-Deer Island, where they met Mr Beck, who had as sad a tale to tell as any of his comrades. After the dreadful disappointment of his party in finding Fort Enterprise deserted, they were reduced to the greatest extremities by want of food, and one of them perished. The rest were only preserved by finding some deers' heads half-buried in the snow, where they had been left by the wolves. They were again sinking into extremity, when the foremost cried out, "Footsteps of Indians!" This joyful cry brightened every countenance, and St Germain following the tracks, soon arrived at the tents of Akaitcho.

At Moose-Deer Island this suffering remnant met with every kindness, and recovered their health in the course of the winter. Next summer they had no difficulty in effecting the journey home, after having travelled by land and water 5550 miles.

On the return of Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson from an expedition where they had purchased so very dearly the glories of discovery, it was not asked, or even expected by government, that they should brave again the perils of these distant and terrible shores. Yet so high was the ardour with

which they were inspired, that scarcely had they breathed from this fearful journey, when they presented a new scheme for completing the outline which they had only begun to sketch, and for tracing from the Coppermine River eastward the great northern boundary of America. Government, since they had instruments possessed of such generous daring, could not be insensible to the glory and satisfaction of tracing these distant boundaries of the earth, and completing the geographical knowledge of the western continent. They therefore cordially embraced the proposal, and furnished liberally every means of prosecuting the undertaking with success, and escaping the evils which had before pressed on them so terribly. Three boats were constructed of mahogany, with ash timbers, so light that they could be carried on men's shoulders across the portages, yet so firm that they could face the waves of the northern ocean. Provision was laid in, consisting chiefly of pemmican, calculated to last for two years; and the boats being sent forward by way of Hudson's Bay, where they could be conveyed up the rivers, the officers took the more patent and agreeable route of New York.

On the 15th February, 1825, Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson sailed from Liverpool in the Columbia American packet, and on the 15th March arrived at New York, where they were hailed with the same enthusiasm as if it had been a British capital. All the inhabitants vied with each other in kindness, and in furnishing every thing which could aid their undertaking. They proceeded across the territory of New York to the St Lawrence and Lake

Ontario; thence across the portages to Rainy Lake, the Lakes of the Woods and Winnipeg, and thence northwards till, on the Methye River, a tributary of Lake à la Crosse, they met their boats. It was now, however, the end of June, and, in consequence of the heavy portages, it was the middle of August before they could embark on the Mackenzie River. At this period of the season it was out of the question to undertake a voyage on the Icy Sea; but Captain Franklin had time, and felt an ardent desire, to sail down, and take a view of the ocean on which his next adventurous summer was to be spent. On the 16th August, in lat. 69° 14′, favourable omens were conceived from the brackish taste of the water, which in the course of three miles became decidedly salt. At length they landed on an island, from the highest point of which they enjoyed the most gratifying prospect. The Rocky Mountains were seen to the west; while to the north the sea appeared in all its majesty, unobstructed by ice, and without any visible impediment to its navigation. Whales, black and white, and numerous seals, were sporting on its waves; and the prospect was not only grand in itself, but inspired the most sanguine hopes of a prosperous future navigation. Captain Franklin confirms the accuracy of Mackenzie, but thinks that he never actually reached the sea.

The expedition now returned to their winter-quarters on Great Bear Lake, where a comfortable habitation, called Fort Franklin, had been reared for them. They contrived to supply themselves during the winter with dried meat and fish, so as scarcely

to break at all on the original stock which they had brought from home; but for this purpose it was necessary to distribute the fifty persons of which the whole party consisted into three several stations. The officers did all in their power to make their men while away cheerfully the dreary season in this sequestered corner of the globe, when there was nothing without but the frozen surface of the lake, and a uniform robe of white covering the ground. They were enlivened by occasional parties of the Hare, Copper, and Dog-Rib Indians. By the 1st of March the softened snow began to form icicles. In the beginning of April they were cheered by some omens of approaching spring. The thermometer rose above Zero, water began to drip from the roofs, and a load of birch was obtained for making charcoal. Early in May, swans, and then geese and ducks, made their welcome appearance. By the end of the month the flowers began to bloom, and themselves to be tormented by the mosquitoes. It was the 7th of June, however, before the ice on the small lake, after a duration of eight months, had completely disappeared. In the Great Lake there was only a narrow channel, and that of the Bear Lake River was so filled with masses of ice which were drifting down, that it could not be safely navigated. On the 24th of June, the navigation commenced, and on the 3d July, having come to a point where two branches separated, one eastward, the other westward, toward the Rocky Mountains, Captain Franklin determined to divide the provisions, and that each should set out on his separate destination. They were now able

to do so with full provision for three months, independent of any supplies which might be found on the road.

Captain Franklin, in descending the river, found his course leading directly towards the range of the Rocky Mountains. About 89° 36′, the spruce-fir, the last of the arctic forest, disappeared, and the dwarf-willow alone remained. At the same time a grand view was obtained of the Rocky Mountains, comprising the entire outline of their peaks, formed into two successive ranges, with a lower line of round hills in the fore-ground. Two days after they came in view of the mouth of the river, and of an island forming the east side of the bay into which it opened; a numerous assemblage of Esquimaux tents, with many of that people roaming about among them. Captain Franklin made preparations for opening a communication with these people, which, as in all such instances, was a work of great delicacy; and he gave strict injunctions to his men, on no account, without his most express sanction, to have recourse to violence. On approaching the island, where the water was found very shallow, a signal of invitation was given to the natives. Three canoes first appeared, and were followed by others in such quick succession, that in a few minutes the whole sea was covered with kayaks and oomiaks, beyond the power of the English to number. They showed great caution in their approach; but on seeing the commodities brought by the English, and receiving invitations to open a trade, they soon began briskly driving one, with much clamour and bustle, eagerly offering bows, arrows,

and spears, which had been hitherto kept concealed. All went on, however, with much harmony, and they even assisted the English to float one of the boats which had got aground. At this time one of the natives having fallen into the sea, was caught into one of the boats, where he discovered a mass of treasure in knives, kettles, and toys, of which neither he nor his countrymen had before any idea. Having in vain asked for every thing he saw, he went over to his countrymen, and communicated to them the discovery. The chiefs, as was afterwards understood, retired, and, counting their numbers, determined to possess themselves by force of the contents of the two boats, without scrupling to sacrifice the crews of both to this gratification of their avidity. This resolution formed, they advanced, two hundred and fifty in number, in two parties, and, seizing the boats, which they could do without going deeper than their knees, began dragging them on shore. At the same time, there appeared two oomiaks full of women, who, with loud howlings, cheered them on to the attack. No strong steps being yet thought advisable, they succeeded in both their objects; first the Reliance, and then the Lion, were brought to the shore. The Esquimaux then began a systematic pillage of every thing in the boats, bearing with the most stoical firmness the heavy blows with the butt-end of the muskets, which the English liberally dealt to them. Enraged at being baffled, or imperfectly successful in repeated efforts, they at length began a most desperate struggle to overpower the crews and possess themselves of both boats. Three of them

had at one time pinioned down Captain Franklin, who was released only by the interference of a friendly chief; but they renewed the assault, and had brought matters to a somewhat alarming crisis, when suddenly they all fled, and hid themselves behind the drift-timber on the beach. This mystery was explained by Lieutenant Beck, who had given very seasonable orders for the whole of his men to level their muskets at these rude assailants, whose courage at this spectacle entirely forsook them. They soon repented, however, of their panic, and rushed forward anew; but the boats were now afloat, and Captain Franklin giving notice through the interpreter that he would shoot the first that approached, their courage again cooled. The interpreter afterwards landed, and loaded his countrymen with reproaches. They pleaded guilty, declaring that it arose out of a rash and sudden impulse, and that they in general cherished nothing but a friendly feeling towards the strangers.

Captain Franklin no longer delayed his voyage along the northern coast, and though the ocean presented only an unbroken field of ice, the land was bordered by a narrow lane of water, through which he could clear his way. At the end of twelve miles, however, he was stopped, and obliged to retreat for several miles, in order to find a landing-place. Here they stumbled upon another party of Esquimaux, with respect to whom a rigorous system of precaution was from the first adopted. A line was drawn around the boats and tents, within which they were by no means to enter under penalty of being shot. The Esquimaux did not resent these marks of jea-

lousy, but leaped for joy at the prospect of the benefits they might derive from trade with the Europeans. They professed a total want of surprise at the evil conduct of the former party, who were, they said, bad men, and never failed to attack or to steal from themselves when they found opportunity. Thus we see the Esquimaux character assuming a fiercer complexion, and deformed by the usual enmities which reign between savage tribes. This tribe seemed to have no idea of cloth, but, taking hold of the English coats, asked of what strange and unknown animal these were the skins. They showed the usual avidity for metallic articles, which they applied often to very different purposes from those intended. A large cod-fish and an awl were suspended from the nose; ear-rings and needles were stuck as ornaments in different parts of the dress. They reported, that as soon as a strong wind should blow from the land, the ice along the shore would open and allow a passage; but that farther to the westward it often adhered through the whole season; and they blamed the English, seemingly with some reason, for not having brought dogs and sledges to take the place of the boats when the ice prevented them from proceeding.

A strong gale springing up from the west, the prediction of the Esquimaux was in some degree fulfilled. The ice partially gave way, and a lane opened, through which, though narrow and encumbered with pieces of floating ice, they pushed their way, till stopped by an icy barrier and heavy fog. Thus they continued slowly to work a passage

along the coast, always rendered difficult and dangerous by fogs and floating masses, and ever and anon interrupted by impassable barriers. At what they called Herschel Island, they found a party of Esquimaux in possession of iron knives and beads, not of British manufacture, reported as having been transmitted by western Esquimaux, who, it was supposed, obtained them from Kabloonachts, or white men; and these were very reasonably conjectured to be the Russians. The Rocky Mountains continued to accompany them, and to run parallel to the coast. In one of their detentions they made their way across a swampy meadow to Mount Conybeare, which was found only about 800 feet high, rising by successive platforms, or terraces of transition-slate. From this place an interesting view opened into the interior of the Rocky Mountains. That which they had just passed, and had named after Mr Buckland, the eminent discoverer of diluvian remains, was found to be composed of three successive ranges, with valleys of some extent intervening. Before them, to the west, appeared a chain of more elevated peaks, mostly covered with snow, to which they gave the name of "the British Chain."

The favourable state of the sea recalled them from Mount Conybeare, and they began to proceed with somewhat greater rapidity. One evening, after sunset, they saw on the shore a collection of boats, with kayaks, oomiaks, and dogs. They hailed the inmates, and, after several loud calls, a woman appeared in a state of total nudity. She presently awoke her husband, and loud screams gave warning to the whole

party, who sprang forth naked, but armed, and in a state of wild alarm at being thus roused from slumber by a band of strangers, whose existence they were wholly ignorant of. As soon as they had composed themselves, and held some intercourse with the interpreter, they invited the English on shore; but from their excited state, and their numbers, amounting to fifty-four, it was judged wiser to invite out a few. Four kayaks arrived, received some presents, and departed in very good humour.

Although the progress of the boats was now more satisfactory, yet some discouraging circumstances began to arise. The sun, which had for some time been perpetually above the horizon, set about eleven at night; flowers which they had seen open began to fade, and to warn them of the primitive winter of the north. The fogs also, which render the navigation among loose ice excessively delicate and dangerous, became continually thicker. The cause of their great prevalence upon this coast, as contrasted with that to the east of the Mackenzie River, is conjectured to be the copious evaporation produced by the heat of the sun; while the vapours, in attempting to proceed southward, are arrested by the continuous barrier of the Rocky Mountains. They were found in the highest perfection on what they termed Foggy Island, when the mist was so dense, that they could not walk beyond a limited space, fixed by particular marks. Sometimes, seeing at a hundred yards' distance what appeared to be a deer, and approaching it, the object took wing, and proved a crane or a goose. They were now on

Russian ground, and had passed another branch of the Rocky Chain, to which they gave the name of Count Romanzoff, as an eminent promoter of discovery. The mountains appeared no longer, whether it was that their immense line here terminated, or that a great dip to the south merely removed them out of sight.

Captain Franklin had made very little progress beyond Foggy Island, when his attention was forcibly drawn to the condition and prospects of the expedition. Though it was now only the middle of August, symptoms of approaching winter already appeared; the thermometer seldom rose much above the freezing-point, and flocks of geese were seen winging their way southward. It was well remembered, that on the last dreadful expedition, only a fortnight later, winter set in with all its intensity. A month, the best of the season, had now been spent in making ten degrees west from the mouth of the Mackenzie. An equal distance still intervened to Icy Cape, without any prospect of the same time or means of performing it. There was no likelihood of any thing better in this additional run, and a dread uncertainty whether something much worse might not be encountered. If arrested or shipwrecked at a more advanced point, there could be no hope but of a return still more disastrous than the former. The middle of August, in fact, had by the instructions been wisely fixed as the utmost term, unless there should appear a certainty of reaching Kotzebue's Inlet. It was contrary, therefore, both to the commander's judgment and instructions to push on

with such faint hopes and such fearful perils, and the determination was formed to return. The expedition was then in longitude 147° west of London.

Meantime something was doing in an opposite quarter. That no means might be wanting to give the expedition every chance of success, government had sent another under Captain Beechey, round by the Pacific and Behring's Straits, to await in Kotzebue's Inlet the arrival of Captain Franklin. Captain Beechey, actively fulfilling this mission, not only reached this station early in the season, but pushed on to Icy Cape, beyond which it was found impossible for the Blossom to proceed. Mr Elson, the master, was sent forward in a boat, and reached 120 miles farther, to longitude 156° 21′; but a long cape, or "spit," as it is called, here stretched to N. latitude 71° 23′ 39″,—the most northerly point of the American continent yet known. On this point the ice grounded so heavily, spreading to the horizon in every direction, that no opening could be found. The boat even was driven ashore by the currents, the attempts to drag it over land failed, and it was sunk in one of the lakes, to be picked up, if possible, at a future season.

From these facts, it appears, that the two parties, in their closest approach, were only about five degrees or 160 miles distant from each other. Captain Franklin declares, that, had he entertained the least idea of such a proximity, no dangers, no difficulties, no discouraging circumstances whatever would have induced him to return. In fact, however, such a knowledge, unless it had been mutual, would only have lured him to

destruction. There was little chance indeed, that, setting out on the 18th August, he would have reached the point, from which on that day the Blossom's boat began its return. The chance is, that he would have been arrested by the same "spit," which the boat could not pass, at a very perilous distance either from Kotzebue's Inlet, or from his quarters on Bear Lake.

Captain Franklin's return was effected without any serious difficulty; and we have now to survey the progress of the eastern expedition under Dr Richardson. He proceeded down the main branch of the Mackenzie River; the mouth of which he found thickly inhabited by Esquimaux, and had an adventure with them somewhat similar to that which befell the western party. The first whom his party met were taken completely by surprise, and rushed out with such alarm and agitation, that they could not comprehend the interpreter, telling them they had nothing to fear. They even used threatening gestures, and made some attempts to drag the boats on shore; but these were easily defeated. As soon, however, as they heard the word *nooworlok* (trade,) their fears subsided, and they began to traffic in the most keen and systematic manner, taking care not to overstock the market, nor to outbid each other. They betook themselves next to thieving, in which they showed themselves no less expert, but were generally detected and obliged to make restitution, which they did readily and merrily. At length the Union grounded on a bank, when seven or eight pushed off in their kayaks, and endeavoured to drag her on shore. They were supported by such numbers armed with knives,

that Mr Kendall called to Dr Richardson, that he would be under the necessity of firing. He received permission to do so in case of necessity, and had pointed his fowling-piece at three of the most daring; the crew of the Dolphin also presented their muskets; whereupon, having learned through the Indians the character of these formidable weapons, they fled as precipitately as the former party. The expedition came afterwards to a winter-village of the Esquimaux, where they found accommodations and attention to comfort on a greater and more artificial scale than either themselves or their Esquimaux interpreter had seen elsewhere. Besides seventeen well-built huts, which composed the village, there rose in the middle a large building, twenty-seven feet square, supported by strong ridge-poles, the floor carefully smoothed and dressed, and the outside adorned with the skulls of twenty-one whales. This building, so unique in an Esquimaux village, was supposed by the interpreter to be a hall for eating; but the English judged it rather to be a house of assembly; the existence of which would mark a progress in society beyond that of the Hudson's Bay natives, but accompanied with more savage and turbulent habits. The other parties whom they met showed a disposition not dissimilar to the first; willing to obtain their goods by barter, but more willing by violence. However, much security was derived from a barricade formed of masts and spare oars, which commanded the entrance of the boats, and could even be made arrow-proof by throwing a mat over it.

The voyage of Dr Richardson encountered none of

those formidable obstacles which retarded and finally arrested that of his western coadjutor. Although ice floated in somewhat alarming masses, it nowhere barred all progress, and dense and gloomy fogs were much less frequent. The coast extended in a comparatively straight and unbroken line, of which the only prominent features were Liverpool Bay, Franklin Bay, and a long circular range called Woollaston Island. The most striking feature was that of burning cliffs, which in several places faced the sea, and whose hot sulphureous fumes mingled and alternated with the cold breezes of the Arctic ocean. The earth, baked in these natural ovens, was formed into clays variously tinted,—yellow, green, white, and red. An attentive examination showed this phenomenon to arise from the bituminous alum-shale, which forms these banks, and contains sulphur in the state and quantity fitted to produce combustion. The sulphur and oxygen produce sulphuric acid, which, uniting with the other component parts, yields the well-known salt called alum. The cliffs, in fact, much resemble those of Whitby, and may be considered as a great natural manufactory of alum. Other somewhat elevated rocks, bordering this coast, were composed of limestone extremely cavernous, and in some places perforated throughout in a complete and very singular manner.

So prosperous on the whole was Dr Richardson's voyage, that on the 7th of August, about a month after the separation, he had arrived in Coronation Gulf, and connected his discoveries with those made by Captain Franklin in his last voyage. Thence it

was easy to reach the mouth of the Coppermine. The river, however, was rendered unfit for navigation by the succession of rapids, and on the 18th, by a somewhat laborious land-journey, he reached the banks of Great Bear Lake. Here a considerable alarm was felt, when nothing was seen of the boat-party which had been appointed to meet and convey him across this great expanse of water. The alternative, in case of absolute failure, was a march round it, which, in a season growing always worse, might have assumed a very disastrous aspect. However, their fears were terminated on the 24th, by the arrival of the boats, which had been delayed by adverse winds, and on the 1st September they arrived at Fort Franklin. Captain Franklin did not join them till the 21st.

While Captain Franklin endeavoured, by navigating the coast of America, to reach Hudson's Bay from the mouth of Hearne's River, Captain Lyon was despatched to Hudson's Bay in hopes of meeting him, and of mutual aid being thus afforded. He sailed on the 10th June, 1824, in the Griper, and went round by the Pentland Frith; but it was not till the 1st of August that he came in view of the coast of Labrador, high and inhospitable, the mountains rising into pinnacles, and their recesses still partially filled with snow. They entered the straits,—made their way through the usual obstacles,—and at the end of the month found themselves in the Welcome. It appeared, however, that the bordering coast of Southampton Island had been laid down in a manner entirely gratuitous; for they met a projecting portion

of it in what was supposed to be the very middle of the Welcome. The sea was running tremendously high, and they were pitching bows under, when the vessel suddenly proved to be on a bank. As her total destruction was then apprehended, preparations were made for taking to the boats, and lots were drawn for the boat into which each was to go. "It was evident to all that the long-boat was the only one which had the chance of living, yet every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident, had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur." The surf now ran to a tremendous height, the ship struck with all her force, and as the waves, or rather breakers, passed over her, she continued to strike with a force which would have burst any less fortified vessel. It appeared evident that no human power could save her. Captain Lyon called the crew on deck, offered prayers for deliverance, and at the same time exhorted them to resignation. "I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. Never, perhaps, was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship after all hope of life had left us." He is disposed to believe that this resignation to the will of the Almighty was the means of obtaining his mercy. The tide fell no lower, heavy rain beat down the gale, the water deepened to five fathoms, and they were enabled to make out to the open sea.

Notwithstanding this disaster, though the compasses no longer pointed with any precision, and the nights were becoming very dark, Captain Lyon by the 17th September had worked his way to beyond the mouth of the Wager, within eighty miles of Repulse Bay. Here, however, the water suddenly shoaled, and they were assailed by a still more terrible tempest. During the night the sea washed continually across the decks, and, amid heavy snow, which froze a foot deep, it was impossible to move without being held fast by ropes. They were at anchor; but every moment a dreadful uncertainty appeared, whether the cables would not give way before the tremendous seas, which burst over the ship. The hurricane blew with deafening violence, and the gloom of the night was made only more sensible by the rays of a small lantern suspended from the mast. At half-past four in the morning the best bower-anchor parted, and at six the two others went at the same moment; the vessel then lay down on her broadside. Again, however, when all hope seemed over, a breeze sprang up from the land, and in a quarter of an hour they were carried into seventeen fathoms.

The shattered state of the vessel, the lateness of the season, and the want of all aid from the compasses, left now no alternative to Captain Lyon but to return to England, with deep regret at having failed in the object of his voyage. He met with a few Esquimaux parties, who showed little new. The largest party were well armed and clothed; they were boisterous, clamorous in demanding presents, and bore an air of saucy independence.

BOOK III.

RECENT TRAVELS AND PRESENT STATE OF NORTH AMERICA.

In the course of the last twenty years, numerous travellers have visited and carefully examined the territory of the United States. Some have travelled under the influence of liberal curiosity, as Messrs Weld, Lambert, Hodgson, Duncan, Flint, De Roos, Mrs Wright, and the anonymous author of Excursion in 1822 and 1823; while others, Messrs Parkinson, Palmer, Birkbeck, and Fearon, explored this region with a view to settlement and emigration. These travellers had nothing left to do under the head of discovery, and, travelling through a civilized and well-ordered country, in stages or steam-packets, they met with scarcely any thing which could be called adventure. To follow each, therefore, through the successive steps of his progress, would be alike tedious and unprofitable. It appears much more edifying, that we should glean, from all united, as com-

plete a view as possible of this immense region, and of this great rising people beyond the Atlantic. In this task we shall not decline the aid which may be derived from the great efforts lately made by the Americans to illustrate the physical and statistical character of their own country, as these are displayed in numerous and valuable communications to Silliman's Journal, and to the several philosophical societies, and in the elaborate statistical works of Pitkin, Seybert, and Warden. Various reports presented to the British Parliament, with the evidence attached to them, will also afford useful materials. From the same or similar sources we may obtain a view of the extensive countries which Britain still retains in America, and to which she sends out a continued succession of emigrants.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Great Extent of Territory.—Continuity of its Features.—Five Divisions—Their Aspect and Structure.—Plain on the Atlantic Coast.—The Alleghany Mountains.—The Western Territory.—The Rocky Mountains.—The Coast of the Pacific.—Minerals —Animal Creation—Quadrupeds—Birds—Fishes—Reptiles—Vegetable Productions.

In taking a general survey of the United States' territory, including all that they can establish an effective claim to, it is impossible not to be struck with its enormous extent. It comprises, not a country, but a continent; its boundary is formed by opposite oceans, the Atlantic on one side, and on the other the remotest Pacific. It reaches 2780 miles in length, and 1230 in breadth,—dimensions which would extend from the south of Italy to the Shetland Islands, and from Cape Finisterre to the Caspian. It would comprehend ten countries as large as France, and thirty as large as England. Its area is computed at 207 millions of square miles.

This region is not more distinguished by its extent

than by the vast continuity of its features. Two ranges of mountain and three ranges of plain divide all this mighty expanse of continent. Each reaches along its whole extent from north to south, parallel to each other, and to the oceans. The largest and loftiest range of mountains, called the Rocky, forms a continuation of the grand American chain of the Andes and Cordilleras. The eastern range, called the Alleghany, or Apalachian, has not a continuous extension beyond the United States; but Humboldt conceives that the elevated sites of the Leeward and Windward Islands, the mountains of Parime in Guiana, and those which run along the interior of Brazil, may be considered with it as virtually forming one great eastern chain of America. Between these two mountain-chains and the opposite oceans are two plains; the eastern one two hundred miles in breadth, and comprising all the old and maritime states on the Atlantic from New England southward to the Carolinas; another, the western, on the coast of the Pacific, broader and more fruitful, but occupied by savage tribes, who have no name or place in history. The inland region, between these two mountains, the Alleghany and the Rocky, forms a valley the most immense, the most fruitful, and watered by the noblest rivers of any on the face of the earth. Even the magnificent plains watered by the Ganges and the rivers of China cannot be brought into comparison with it. Over this plain, civilized America is rapidly spreading, and is in progress to occupy the whole; but as yet nearly the half is possessed by the aboriginal Indian tribes.

In taking such a rapid sketch as our limits permit, of these five great divisions, we shall begin with the eastern plain, situated on the Atlantic, which, thirty years ago, comprised the whole domain of the United States, and still includes all its great cities and most cultivated districts. The whole of this tract is considered by M. Volney as bearing evident proofs of having, at a period not very remote, formed part of the bed of the Atlantic. All the parts of the earth, indeed, bear marks of some period, hid in the mysterious depths of time, when they lay beneath the waters; but the era seems comparatively recent when the ocean must have washed the base of the Alleghany. Mr Bourne, in the second volume of Silliman's Journal, describes the salt meadows, or marshes, which extend along a great part of the coast, covered with thick reddish grass, from six to twelve inches high, and with roots so compact, that a sharp instrument is required to cut them. Adjoining to these are the fresh meadows, which extend to the uplands, covered with wild grass from one to three feet high, and so wet and soft, that few of them can bear the weight of a waggon. All the soil in the northern states, as far as the Hudson, rests upon those rocks which the geologists call primitive. Granite exposes itself to view in all the environs of the city of New York, and may be traced along the whole coast of New England. Mr Hitchcock, in his Geological Survey of the interior of Connecticut, notices everywhere the copious occurrence of granite, mica-slate, and other primitive rocks. The disintegration of these hard and crystallized masses does not yield

a soil equally fertile as that produced from rocks of later and looser formation. Fertility is not a general character of these countries. Even many soils formerly wooded, and where the deciduous leaves had left thick vegetable mould, have, in the course of fifteen or twenty years' culture, lost their fertility, without the power of restoration. The farmer comes to what Mr Spafford calls *hand-pan*, a stiff impenetrable surface, on which no vegetable substance will grow. Yet, after all, the extent of arable products in these countries shows this character of sterility to be far from universal.

The remainder of this plain, extending from the Hudson southwards to the Gulf of Mexico, bears still more obviously the traces of a submarine origin. It consists of one immense surface of sand, exhibiting an appearance similar to that from which the sea has retired. A great extent of it consists of a dead and marshy flat, scarcely elevated above the ocean on which it borders; inland, according to Mr Dickson's description, it rises gradually into hills, and higher up, into immense piles of white sand. This sandy region is covered with thin extensive forests of stunted fir and pine and grub oak. At last it approaches the mountain-region, whence copious steams descend, which, overflowing or having overflowed their banks, impregnate the sand with a mixture of alluvial clay, producing a varied and often high degree of fertility. Volney considers the states of Maryland and New Jersey as almost entirely composed of river-alluvion. Along the upper banks of the Shenandoah, Potowmack, James, and other rivers, there occur large tracts

extremely fertile and beautiful. These States have another great advantage in their containing immense beds of shell-marl, which can be employed with the greatest advantage in enriching their poor soils. Mr Pierce calculates that this marl extends a hundred and thirty miles along the coast of Virginia and Maryland, and that the beds of it in New Jersey are inexhaustible. The sandy region is bounded for five hundred miles by a long narrow ledge of talcky granite, which terminates the tide-waters in all the rivers, and, crossing their course, produces those numerous and picturesque falls which form a characteristic feature in the rivers of America. The waterfall, on a magnificent scale, belongs peculiarly to that continent. Even the most remarkable of those in the mountain-regions of Europe are formed only by rills or torrents, falling from a great height, and with picturesque accompaniments, but without any large body of water. The great European rivers are often broken by rapids and cataracts; but, unless in the remarkable instance of the Rhine, at Schaffhausen, they scarcely ever descend down rocky steeps in one unbroken flood. A different result seems to arise in America, from the continuous table-elevations, with abrupt descents, by which it is everywhere intersected. Around these the greatest streams seek in vain to find or to force their way, and, on arriving at the abrupt termination of the ledge, are obliged to plunge their waters headlong. Such, on a scale of unrivalled magnitude, are the Falls of Niagara; and all the streams of the United States have, though on a smaller scale, similar descents. Of this succession of falls,

the most magnificent are those of the Potowmack, which, already a river of great magnitude, is contracted by immense rocks, between which it comes rushing down with tremendous impetuosity. It forms, however, not one single sheet of water, but a succession of falls, only in one place quite perpendicular, and partaking thus somewhat of the nature of the cataract. The falls of James's River, above Richmond, and of the Delaware, at Trenton, approach still closer to the aspect of rapids; but the Pasaic throws itself down in one brilliant and unbroken sheet.

After this rapid view of the Atlantic plain, we have to consider that vast mountain-limit by which it is everywhere lined and guarded. The Alleghany consists of two parts, so different in aspect, and especially in composition, that the application of this common name cannot be made with strict physical propriety. The separate parts, however, lock in close together, leaving in one place only a channel for the Hudson, which rolls its majestic streams between them, unbroken even by a rock from either. A chain is thus formed so uninterrupted, that, in a geographical sense, and on the large scale, it may be considered as one. Various names, however, are given in various districts to different parts of this extended range. That of "the Highlands" is very generally applied to the large portion which commences in Canada, and runs along the back of the New England States as far as Hudson. In Vermont, however, it is called the Green Mountains, a term expressed even in the name of the State; while that very lofty branch

in the interior of New Hampshire is termed the White Mountains. All these northern ranges are composed of primitive rocks. Mr Amos found the Highlands in the Hudson composed chiefly of gneiss and hornblende, with granite layers enclosed. There was no trace of mica-slate, which to Professor Deway appeared by far the most abundant rock in Berkshire, and in several counties of Vermont and Connecticut. Iron abounds in all these mountains, but rendered often useless by its combination with sulphur; large beds, however, of the brown oxide also occur. Their sides are generally clothed with immense forests. The White Mountains of New Hampshire form the most elevated of all these branches, and their principal peak, called Mount Washington, being upwards of 6000 feet high, surpasses probably any other east of the Mississippi. Mr Pierce, the indefatigable physical explorer of this region, after great efforts, succeeded in mounting to its summit. The sides, to a great height, were covered with trees of varied verdure. Evergreens then began to prevail, and at the same time beds and ledges of granite, gneiss, and sienite, became conspicuous. At 4000 feet, the fir was only three feet high, but with branches spreading horizontally, and forming an impenetrable thicket. Even at 5000 feet there still grew a Lilliputian forest; but the summit was naked and rocky. The prospect beheld from it was immense and savage. On every side mountains rose above mountains, shooting up numerous peaks resembling the broken waves of a tempestuous ocean. In a circuit of nearly twenty miles there were only two farms, and it was only

at the Green Mountains of Vermont, on the verge of the western horizon, and at a hundred miles' distance, that a faint gleam of cultivation was descried. The woods, which originally covered all this mountain-region, have been partially cut down. The soil, elevated, rocky, and primitive, has a forbidding character, either for culture or pasturage; but sheep are fed on it with great advantage. Mount Washington, by the careful measurement of Captain Partridge, was estimated at 6600 feet; other peaks of the White Mountains at 5693, 5393, 5190, 5025. Keldington Peak, the highest of the Green Mountains, is stated at 3924 feet. As the Highlands approach New York, and tower over the Hudson, they present peaks much less elevated. New Beacon rises only to 1585 feet; Old Beacon, 1471; Crow's Nest, 1418; Breakneckhill, 1187. On the opposite side of the Hudson, however, and stretching into the back-settlements of New York, are the Catskill Mountains, which comprise peaks more elevated than any, except the White Mountains of Hampshire. Round Top is estimated by Captain Partridge at 3804 feet, and High Peak at 3718. The Highlands, in passing along New York, are twelve miles broad, but expand to twenty miles in their progress through New Jersey.

Where the Highland chain and its granitic ridges terminate, begins another of different character and magnitude. These are more strictly called the Alleghany, or Endless Mountains, from their great extent; sometimes they bear the name of Apalachian, from the country in Florida where they were first observed, and their course traced northwards. These names

are sometimes applied to particular portions only; and other names are assigned by particular States to those ranges which are in immediate contiguity to themselves. Such are the Blue Mountains, the North Mountains, the South Mountains. But all this nomenclature is exceedingly vague and local, varying according to the point from which they happen to be viewed. The best known name is that of the Blue Mountains, assigned by the Virginians to the most eastern range within their view, and which, by the usual effect of the atmosphere upon distant objects, is invested with a blue tint. From the same cause, other branches, seen from the southern and western plains, receive the same name. There does not in fact seem any room for splitting into parts a chain which is distinguished from those of the old continent chiefly by its lengthened continuity. It consists generally of five parallel ridges, extending from south-east to north-west, and, after passing Carolina, almost due west. The only great branch thrown out is that of the Cumberland or Laurel Mountains, stretching westward parallel to the most southern part of the Apalachian, and enclosing the fertile valley of Tenessee.

The height of these mountains was at first the subject of exaggerated statements, such as are made respecting any remarkable object. A more accurate examination proved that, compared to their great length, they are of small elevation. The measurements of Captain Partridge fix the highest point of Blue Ridge at 1908 feet, and that of the most elevated summit of the whole Alleghany at 2988 feet.

Among the loftiest are two elevated peaks, distinguished by the warm springs situated on their summit. The height of these is 2380 and 2018 feet. In general their elevation does not greatly vary; and the chain, throughout its whole extent, presents a long uniform ridge, with steep faces and level summits. It very much resembles the Jura, on a greater scale as to extent and a smaller as to height. These close table-ridges, however, render it much more difficult to penetrate than is usual in ranges of so moderate a height. Between most others there are commonly passages, level or nearly level, through which a route may be conducted; but in the Alleghany almost the only openings are formed by those hideous gullies through which the rivers, by the most violent action, have forced a passage, and have almost choked them with the fragments torn up in the operation. It is, therefore in general necessary to ascend and descend the heights and valleys which succeed each other as we cross these successive chains. Volney conceives, that great lakes must originally have filled the intervals between the Alleghany ridges, the waters of which, by violent means, at length effected a passage into the plains beyond; but these processes, hid in the mysterious depth of ages, cannot now be traced with precision. The composition of these mountains nowhere belongs to the primitive formation, except in that outer ledge, already described as terminating the sandy plain, and which is considered the Blue Mountains. The later formations predominate in all the chains of the proper Alleghany. From the observations of Mr Cornelius, it

appears, that they belong in a great measure to that vast limestone formation which covers the whole western territory. Of this material appears to be composed that most remarkable object called the Rock Bridge, in the mountainous district behind Virginia. Some great convulsion of nature has rent a mountain asunder from top to bottom, forming a deep cleft about two miles long, and in some places three hundred feet deep. A large mass of rock thrown across this fissure forms a natural bridge, the walls of which are so perpendicular, that from the parapet a plummet might be let fall to the very bottom of the chasm. A winding path, amid rocks and trees, enables the adventurous spectator to reach the bottom of the chasm, whence, in looking upwards, this stupendous arch appears in full grandeur, seeming to touch the skies. Its height is 213, and the span of the arch at top 90 feet. A late writer supposes it to have been a limestone cave, laid open by the action of water; but Mr Weld conceives, that when the fissure was made, this rock must have been drawn across it. On the whole, these steep wooded mountains, with majestic rivers forcing their way through them, produce many striking and romantic sites, which Mr Weld conceives to resemble, though without equalling in grandeur, the scenery of Wales.

Westward of the Alleghany, and thence to the Rocky Mountains, extends the next and greatest division of the United States. It comprises perhaps the largest plain in the world, reaching about 1500 miles in every direction, and equalling in extent nearly the whole of Europe. The pride of this great

plain, and the sure source of its rising prosperity, are its rivers. Those of the Atlantic plain hold a comparatively short course. None except the Hudson come from beyond the mountains; but descend from them across the limited breadth of the eastern territory to the ocean. The commodious bays, indeed, which they form across the continuous extent of the Atlantic coast, afford to these States the most advantageous outlet for their productions, and the means of a most extensive commerce. But the west, an immense plain, thoroughly inland, shut by mountain-barriers from the ocean on each side, would have laboured under a singular absence of the means of communication, had it not been furnished with a multitude of navigable rivers, which have been calculated to extend for above 23,000 miles. The trunk of this immense inland-navigation is the Mississippi. Rising in a chain of lakes at the northern border of the States' territory, in about 49° N. latitude, it traverses the whole breadth of the plain from north to south, till it falls at New Orleans into the Gulf of Mexico. Its title to the rank of the primary river has indeed been disputed on the very best grounds by a stream which ranks nominally only as its tributary. At the point of junction in latitude 38°, while the Mississippi has held a course of only 1300 miles, the *Missouri*, from its lofty and distant source in the Rocky Chain, has flowed 3096 miles. From the head of the Mississippi to the embouchure of the united waters in the Gulf of Mexico, the entire line of river-course is about 2500 miles; from the head of the Missouri it is 4300 miles,—a length which it

seems doubtful if even the boasted flood of the Amazons can rival. Thus the length of the Missouri, even before the junction, exceeds that of the rival stream. Yet the latter, by a prescriptive possession, which it seems impossible to shake, continues to give its name to the mighty mass of combined waters. There are certain views indeed under which it is convenient so to consider it. The Mississippi, by its direct line from north to south, bisects this immense plain, and separates its eastern from its western region. Deep sunk in its channel, it forms as it were the great American bottom, into which all the rivers from the opposite sides of the continent, and the opposite boundary-chains of mountains, find their common termination, and are carried down to the grand ocean-receptacle. The Missouri, however, in every comparative estimate of the magnitude of river-courses, must rank as the main stream; and, in fact, from the moment of entrance, stamps its own character upon the united channel. It communicates the tumult and rapidity of its course, and the muddy ash-colour of its waters, derived from the alluvial substances washed down from the soft clay and sand-banks which have bordered them. Mr Beck assures us, in his History of the Missouri Territory, that, after standing for some time, it deposits usually one-third of its bulk in sediment. After this we cannot admire the taste of the Americans, who, he says, drink it without scruple previous to any purification, and consider it rather as eminently wholesome. This water is said to be of a light, soft, agreeable quality, with an infusion of sulphur and

nitre, having a slight cathartic tendency, and considered useful in cutaneous diseases. It is remarkable, that the waters of the Nile, similarly impregnated with mud, have been considered as possessing some of these qualities.

When these rivers have united their mighty channels, and are swelled by others only second to themselves in magnitude, they form a sea-like expanse, which, when swelled by floods, can no longer be contained within level banks. Thus the low tract which everywhere borders the great trunk of the Mississippi, becomes liable to the most dreadful inundations. For a great extent of its lower course, a space of a hundred miles on each side is to a great extent laid under water. Yet the river has thrown up as it were a barrier against itself, by the great quantities of sand and mud which it deposits, and which form a ridge along its banks, higher at once than itself and than the plains adjacent, which are thus often preserved dry, though beneath the level of the Mississippi. Even during its floods, the river breaks these barriers only at particular points, and overruns in canals or channels the neighbouring country; a great part of which is thus preserved from submersion. These tracts, as well as the elevated ridge which borders the river, present the most brilliant verdure and fertility; the observation of which has led to the plan of aiding nature by a great artificial work called the Levee, which extends for about 130 miles above New Orleans. It is composed of a bank of earth, raised from four to six feet above the ridge, and thus generally sufficient to pre-

serve the river within its limits. Sometimes, however, in high floods, this barrier proves unavailing, and a dreadful scene takes place. The waters force an opening, rush through with frightful impetuosity, and with a noise like the roaring of a cataract, bearing down and destroying every thing before them. This *crevasse*, or breaking of the levee, spreads a consternation in the country round like that raised by a city on fire. Every other employment is abandoned, and the whole population hastens to assist in the attempts, often vainly made, to arrest its progress. The crop, the buildings, are swept away; the labour of years perishes; and often the land itself suffers by the sweeping away of its most productive surface. The Lousianian planter, with a prodigious volume of water thus rolling over his head, is in a state of perpetual watchfulness and anxiety. Each is bound to maintain the part of the levee opposite to his own land; and his private concern in it is enforced by commissioners, who, previous to the approach of the annual floods, make a general inspection of the work, and call upon each for the necessary repairs. During the continuance of the flood also every individual must be continually on the alert, and ready to fly at a moment's warning.

Many rivers besides the Missouri, and such as in other continents would rank as of the first magnitude, pour their waters into the great Mississippi basin. Of these, the most important is the Ohio, formed at Pittsburg by the united streams of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, coming from the back-settlements of Pennsylvania. Its course from Pittsburg

was estimated by Mr Hutchins at 1188 miles; but more careful surveys made by the United States are said to have reduced it to 950. When reckoned, however, as it ought to be, from the head of its largest tributary, it will still have an entire course of nearly 1300 miles. The extensive valley which it waters is one of the most fruitful in the world, and already the seat of the most flourishing western settlements. In its course it receives other rivers of no secondary magnitude, bringing with them the tribute of the great countries which they have enriched. The chief southern tributaries are the Cumberland, from the fertile valley of Kentucky; the Tenessee, from the valley bearing its own name; these unite their waters near the common junction; from the north comes the Wabash, after watering the rising state of Indiana. Even the humbler courses of the two Miamis, the Scioto and the Muskingum, are distinguished by the beauty and richness of the plains which they water. The Illinois, which falls in considerably above the Ohio, is nearly of equal length, and flows amid many fertile prairies; but its tributaries are unimportant.

The western tributaries of the Mississippi, even without reckoning the Missouri, are still greater than the eastern, having to bring across a much more extensive plain all the waters poured down from the Rocky Mountains. Those which the Missouri itself receives from the immense prairies and deserts to the south and west, have a longer course than the Ohio. The Yellow Stone, in the higher part, disputing the

character of the main stream, flows 1100 miles; the Platte, lower down, 1600; the Kansas, 1200. The Osage has only 600; but the great value of the territory which borders it compensates for this inferior magnitude. After the Missouri has poured its own waters, with those of so many subject-streams, into the common receptacle, the united stream in descending continues to receive vast accessions,—the Arkansa and the Red River, both from the loftiest of the Rocky Peaks, and after having flowed, the one 2200, the other 1500 miles. The former receives the Canadian of 1100 miles, and the White River of 1200; while the latter, near its mouth, is joined by the Washita, after a course of 600 miles through a very fertile territory.

All this grand system of rivers, whether of the Mississippi itself, or its tributaries from the east or the west, possesses one most important and fortunate feature. With a few slight exceptions, which could be removed without much difficulty, they are navigable without interruption from their source to their termination. They afford thus a range of inland-navigation, to which even that of China can scarcely be compared, and which, with the aid of a single maritime outlet, compensates to this vast region for the distance of a seacoast. The invention of steam navigation, which, in its practical application, undoubtedly belongs to America, is singularly adapted to river-navigation, where it has no swell or violent shocks to encounter; and by rendering water-carriage, which for bulky goods is so much cheaper, as regular

and speedy as land-conveyance, it wonderfully promotes the communication between the most distant parts of this vast inland continent.

In the composition of this grand central plain, every thing is on the same large scale, but of materials wholly different from those which prevail on the other side of the Alleghany. The whole of the region between those mountains and the Mississippi is covered with a limestone formation of the most remarkable extent and continuity. Mr Cornelius describes himself as having travelled 800 miles without ever losing sight of this formation; but finding every spring, every rivulet, impregnated with carbonate of lime. It extends even beyond the northern boundary of the States, along the banks of the Red River, and is separated by Lake Winnipeg from the primitive formation of the north. This structure is characterized as far as it reaches by the most excessive fertility. The soil which covers the territories of Kentucky and Ohio is not surpassed in richness by any on the face of the earth. The only danger in general is that of vegetation being choked by its extreme luxuriance. This fertility does not, as in the more eastern tracts, belong to a mere surface of vegetable deposit, liable to be carried away or exhausted, but to the structure of the glebe itself, and is thus deep lodged and permanent. Yet the aspect of this region is still that of an almost unbroken forest, in which cultivation has effected a few openings, without making any sensible impression on its immensity. The scenery of Kentucky, as viewed from the lofty detached pinnacle of Look-Out, is described by Cornelius to

consist of woods almost interminable, penetrated by the windings of a broad river, and diversified by hundreds of verdant prairies.

This calcareous substance, which is of the description called shell-limestone, is attended with striking and extensive excavations. Weir's Cave, described in Silliman's Journal as a specimen of the caves of Kentucky, is a mile and a half in extent, divided into numerous branches and apartments, the height of which varies from three to forty feet, and the breadth from two to thirty. A narrow and difficult passage leads into a large echoing cavern. Ledges of rocks form the floor, while the uneven walls are covered over with beautiful incrustations of brown spar, hanging sometimes in thin, translucent, and beautiful sheets from the canopy. In the different apartments these calcareous crusts assume a thousand fantastic forms, and display the most sparkling lustre. They hang in clusters from the arched vault, and often reach the ground in massive columns. "Stalagmites rise from the floor like statues; at times we seem to walk on diamond pavements." Sometimes the visitor has to cross streams, and even to walk along their bed. The water, continually dropping from the ends of the stalactites, is the only sound which interrupts the deep silence of the cavern. These caves are here supposed to have been all produced by water penetrating through the soft materials of the rock.

Other phenomena arising out of this formation are those known by the elegant appellation of "sink holes." These are merely cavities of the same nature as those now described, into which rivulets or tor-

rents plunge, and are seen no more. The "Lost River," in Indiana, is described by Mr Nelson as realizing the fabled course of the Alpheus, pouring a large stream into one of these caverns, rolling six or seven miles underground, and re-appearing with an ample accession to its waters.

These vast western regions present some modifications of soil and scenery peculiar to themselves, which must be understood before we can form a precise idea of their surface and aspect. Such are the Prairies, the Barrens, the Bottoms, the Licks.

Prairies form a most extensive and important feature in Western America. This gay term, first attached to them by the French, does not exactly apply to the vast savannahs of the west. They resemble rather the boundless *Llanos* of the Oronooks. They consist of plains which, from too copious moisture, are rendered unfit for the growth of trees, or even of the smallest shrub, but are overgrown with a rank and luxuriant grass, rising to the height of six or seven feet. After being depastured, however, they assume the ordinary aspect of rich meadow ground. Some of them are admitted by Mr Birkbeck to be little better than marshes; and even those which do not come under this character are infested with a species of quag-mire, called by the common people, according to Mr Beck, "purgatory swamps, or devil's holes." They present an apparently firm surface, but into which a stick may be thrust to any depth, and on which, when the incautious traveller sets his foot, especially in a wet season, he often sinks almost without hope of recovery. It is therefore unsafe for a stranger to

venture across one of these moist prairies without a pilot. Some also, like the grand prairie which occupies a great part of Illinois, are little else than dreary uninhabited wastes. The most agreeable spots are the small prairies, generally bounded and enclosed by a waving line of forest, which are soon converted into rich pastures, and by degrees become capable of bearing crops of grain. The new settlers, therefore, who at first shunned them as deserts or marshes, begin to prefer them to the heavily-timbered districts, the clearing of which is a laborious task. They offer also more cheerful situations than are enjoyed by him who is buried in the gloom of a forest, and whose visible horizon does not extend beyond the 500 yards which he has cleared around his habitation. These prairies, Mr Atwater observes, reach over the whole of this great interior plain, from the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains. They extend sometimes only a few perches, sometimes as far as the eye can reach. Mr Bourne has observed them even in glades near the top of the Alleghany, and considers them on the whole much richer than the fresh meadows of the eastern territory. Mr Fearon supposes the prairies of Illinois to comprise at least a million of acres.

The *barrens* form another description of surface, which, though they somewhat resemble the prairies, are essentially different. They occupy usually the highest part of the country, and are level, but with slight swells, in which grow numberless little groves or clusters of oak, hickory, and other trees, but all stunted, and only about half the size of those on or-

dinary lands. The grass on these elevations is tall and coarse, but thin; while on the lower grounds it rises thick and luxuriant. These barrens in fact are among the most fertile spots on the face of the earth. To the traveller, indeed, who passes over them, they present an aspect almost as dreary as that of an African desert. A man, Mr Atwater observes, may travel on them from morning to night, and appear still on the very spot from which he set out. No pleasing variety of hill and dale, no flowing stream, or sound of woodland-music, delights the eye or the ear; but in their stead the prospect is spread out in immense and dreary uniformity; nor is it at all enlivened by the rill of muddy reddish water, which is seen slowly meandering through it. The farmer, however, who sees his cattle fatten rapidly, and without trouble to himself, on these natural meadows, soon learns to view them more favourably. Sheep cannot be fed with advantage on this rank and luxuriant herbage; but the horse, the ox, the hog, thrive exceedingly; and by draining, corn may be raised with great advantage. These natural meadows are of various dimensions, and of every form which imagination can conceive. Mr Bourne thinks they are produced by fires, which have consumed the trees that formerly covered the surface, and observes, that many of those which remain appear partially burned; but the moist surface, the stunted wood, and the rank herbage, seem rather to indicate something peculiar in the nature of the soil itself.

Another characteristic of the great American plain consists in its *bottoms*. The rivers, as has been ob-

served, where they are not bordered by those loose elevations called bluffs, flow generally along a dead and almost sunk level. They are thus liable to frequent inundations, and their character fluctuates between that of a swamp, and of the very richest alluvial meadow. Mr Birkbeck justly censures the American practice of building towns in the bottoms, even when there is a bluff at no inconvenient distance. In addition to the perpetual danger of being swept away, they are thus rendered extremely unhealthy. Indeed the district situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi forms so wet and marshy a bottom, that, notwithstanding its singularly happy situation for trade, no attempts have yet been made to erect a city on any part of it.

The spots which the Americans designate by the somewhat inelegant name of *licks,* do not cover any great extent of territory; yet they afford marks which serve to break its extensive monotony. These licks are favoured and almost enchanted spots in the bosom of the American forest. They are formed by salt-springs, which, bubbling out, and spreading over a small surrounding tract, prevent the growth of trees, but cover it with the richest verdure. These spots become the favourite haunt of the bison, the elk, and the other wild and harmless tenants of the forest. They crop its rich pastures, and *lick* the saline particles with which it is impregnated.

The territory to the west of the Mississippi, unknown to its possessors till within the last twenty years, is of still greater extent than the tract comprised between that river and the Alleghany. For

an extent of 200 to 400 miles it is, on the whole, of a somewhat similar character, and affords equal prospects of becoming a wealthy and cultivated region. Its prairies indeed are still more extensive and less level. They present very generally a rolling surface, like the waves of the sea when under the influence of a moderate gale. Timber is much less abundant, and many tracts have not that important necessary of life and instrument of new settlement at all within convenient reach. This has led many to foredoom these tracts to perpetual and hopeless desertion. But though this want may indeed prevent these spots from being early or in preference fixed upon for colonization and settlement, yet, when the rest is occupied and land becomes precious, the vast facilities of water-carriage must make it no very arduous task to convey to them this material, which they alone want. A much more deep and terrible obstacle exists to the unlimited improvement of this part of America. At a certain distance beyond the Mississippi commences a sandy saline desert, which, as it proceeds westward, becomes always more complete and more desolate, till it is bounded by the naked cliffs of the Rocky Mountains. The rivers which descend from that ample fountain of waters, roll indeed mighty streams, but not, as elsewhere, over rich alluvial meadows. They are confined within deep and somewhat broad ravines, which they fill with a brilliant belt of verdure, but without in almost any degree breaking the dreary uniformity of the encircling waste. Even over these desolate regions indeed bisons are seen ranging in

herds, sometimes of a thousand and upwards; somewhere, therefore, these animals must find pasturage in a certain abundance. Doubtless, at that distant future period, when all the rich plains to the east and the west of the Mississippi shall have been covered with cultivation, many favourable spots, yet unknown and unobserved, will be traced out; and art may find resources for irrigating and improving these arid wastes; but this era is still very remote.

The next grand geographical line is that of the Rocky Mountains, of which little can yet be said, and almost all that little has already been introduced into our narrative of the travels of Pike, Lewis, and James. Granite, after a long interval, again appears as the chief component part of these mountains, which present, however, to the east, an irregular facing of sand-stone. Their height exceeds that of any part of the Alleghany. One peak, the highest yet observed, was found to be 8500 feet above the plain, and believed in consequence to be 11,500 feet above the sea. Such an elevation in this latitude causes deep snow to cover these mountains during winter, and to remain on many of their peaks for the whole year. The Rocky Mountains extend in breadth for 200 or 300 miles, and their lower sides are generally covered with extensive woods.

To the fifth portion, which extends from the Rocky Mountains to the ocean, the States have only a very remote and prospective title, which is perhaps neither known nor acknowledged by one of its actual inhabitants; yet we have already observed it to be a title which their posterity probably will find

no difficulty in enforcing. This most western region does not present the uniform expanse of either mountain or plain characteristic of the other four divisions. The leading feature is a long chain of mountains, interposed between the Rocky Chain and the ocean, and parallel to each. Between this chain and that of the Rocky Mountains, there intervenes a plain, varying from 200 to 400 miles in breadth, nowhere thickly wooded, but in its lower parts extremely fertile. The immediate coast of the Pacific, instead of that bold and awful front which is so conspicuous at Nootka and the shores to the north, descends in gentle and verdant slopes. The rivers of this region are very considerable, though they do not rival those stupendous floods which flow through the great central plain. The numerous waters collected between the two great mountain-ranges all unite in the channel of the Columbia, which, forcing its way across the most westerly chain, enters the Pacific after a course of about 500 miles. The main tributaries have received the names of the travellers, Lewis and Clarke, by whom they were first discovered. Having to pierce through such formidable barriers, so near the ocean, they are by no means of commodious navigation, and are obstructed, even in their lower course, by falls, cataracts, or at least rapids. We have seen the Columbia traversed by a succession of most formidable rapids, over which, however, a boat skilfully piloted may clear its way. The coast of the Pacific, when reached, affords the materials of a valuable fishery.

The climate of North America presents some pe-

culiar features. The Eastern Atlantic region belongs by position to the temperate zone; but it has no tract to which that term can be in strictness applied. Instead of that equable succession of heat and cold, with which the happier regions of Europe are blessed, it experiences the alternations of a tropical and an Arctic climate. The midsummer heat of New England, according to Volney, is for some weeks 31° of Reaumur, which is the temperature of Arabia. On the other hand, Philadelphia, which corresponds to the genial climate of Valencia and Naples, experiences a polar winter. The broad channel of the Delaware is frozen over in twenty-four hours, and remains in that state for several weeks. These extremes of summer heat and winter cold are indeed experienced in the north of Europe,—at Petersburgh, Stockholm, and even in Lapland. But America seems distinguished from these countries by the very sudden variations which take place in the course of a single day; produced on one side by the warm breezes from the Gulf of Mexico, on the other by the cold streams which descend from the polar seas, and from the vast forests and swamps of the interior. A variation of twenty-eight degrees of Fahrenheit in the course of eighteen hours is by no means uncommon; and Dr Rush mentions an instance, (on the 4th and 5th February, 1788,) when there was a fall from 37° to $-4\frac{1}{2}°$, or 41°. In Charleston, the transitions from hot to cold are so sensibly felt, that as much fire-wood is said to be consumed in that city as in Philadelphia. Generally throughout the States, even during the greatest heats of midsummer, there is a

change at night to piercing cold, which continues always to increase till the morning; so that there are few nights in which a fire is not agreeable. On the whole, says Dr Rush, we have the moisture of Britain in the spring, the heat of Africa in summer, the temperature of Italy in June, the colds and snows of Norway and the ice of Holland in the winter, the tempests in a certain degree of the West Indies, and the variable weather of Great Britain in every season.

It is remarked by Mr Jefferson, that the cold becomes always more intense in proceeding westward till the summit of the Alleghany is reached,—a circumstance for which he finds it difficult to account; but a sufficient reason seems found in the continual increase of elevation. After, however, that pinnacle is passed, and a descent is made into the western plain, the air becomes milder, and the temperature of the basin of the Mississippi is calculated to be three degrees higher than that on the Atlantic coast. This is attributed by Mr Stilson to the prevailing current of air, at once warm and moist, which comes from the Gulf of Mexico, ascending successively the Mississippi and the Ohio. It is modified, however, by two other currents; one of which comes from the Missouri, originating probably in the Rocky Mountains, and blowing over the immense intervening plain. It is somewhat unhealthy, which the above writer imputes to the rank luxuriance of vegetable substances, growing and putrefying in the fertile deserts which it traverses; but the vast swamps and stagnant waters which lodge in so great a part of the prairies and bottoms must doubtless contribute to this evil.

The third current, coming from the northern lakes, is intensely cold; and the writer apprehends it as likely to become always more so, through the cutting down of the forests, which at present serve as a screen against its violence. Such an effect, however, would be contrary to what obtains in almost every similar case where the forests, by excluding the rays of the sun, and rendering the ground wet, produce a low temperature, which becomes milder after their removal.

The climate of the United States does not generally equal that of Europe in salubrity. Peculiar alarm has been spread by the dreadful ravages occasionally made in the great cities by the yellow fever. An important and critical question is agitated in the medical world, whether this dreadful malady is introduced by foreign infection, or springs from a peculiar and vitiated state of the local atmosphere? That the yellow fever, and all the diseases allied to it, are propagated by infection, seems established by evidence that can admit of no dispute; yet the researches of the American physicians appear to have ascertained also, that without the concurrence of damp, filth, and a temperature of upwards of 80°, the malignant influence will not be brought into action. On the other hand, where this pernicious combination exists, it will spring up independent of any foreign communication. It was always in the low, close, dirty quarters of New York, bordering immediately on the quays, that the yellow fever first originated, and thence spread through the rest of the city. When patients were removed to healthy country situations, the infection did not accompany them. At New York indeed, and

the other maritime cities, which carried on a brisk trade with the West Indies, there was always room to suspect a foreign origin. But detached points of the interior, and even of the western territory, which are surrounded by ponds and marshy grounds, have been visited in the middle of summer by this fever in its most violent and dangerous form, at a time when there had been no communication with the West Indies, or any other infected region. Even in the great cities, the precautions taken by the enforcement of cleanliness and the removal of noxious matter have rendered the occurrence of this dreadful disease much rarer and less destructive. America, in general, suffers more from the intermitting fever or ague, and from the bilious remitting fever, or typhus; and the production of these maladies seems to depend almost entirely on local circumstances. The vicinage of marshes and pools, of the inundated banks of lakes and rivers, and of ground which, after being for ages in a state of nature, is for the first time turned up by the plough, constitute the situations most liable to this pernicious influence. Mr Atwater describes a fog which rises from different parts of the Ohio in the evening and continues till morning, and which appears to exert an influence very pernicious to health. Mr Warden indeed considers the western state of Indiana to be more healthful than the others; but this does not quite agree with Mr Birkbeck's observations with reference to it, that a seasoning fever is a tax which every new settler must inevitably pay. Another circumstance, which may make the air of America evil reported of beyond its deserts is, that

with a view to trade, on which her citizens are eagerly intent, most of the western towns are built on the banks of the rivers, and on the very bottoms, without the builders being deterred even by the danger of inundation. The effect above observed of the exhalations from newly-turned-up earth has increased, and for some time must increase, with the progress of settlement. The ultimate result, however, of the whole territory being brought under complete and regular cultivation must happily be directly opposite. Already this is observable in New England, a portion of the Union where cultivation is nearly as complete as in Europe, and from which accordingly these troublesome fevers have in a great measure disappeared.

Other diseases, arising from irregular and extreme attacks of cold, are prevalent in America. A fifth and sometimes a fourth of the fatal cases in the medical lists are placed under the head of consumption. Its prevalence in large cities, and its increase in the course of the last century, lead to the inference that the modern style of dress, exposure in crowded and heated assemblies, and other fashionable imprudences, are to be ranked among its exciting causes. Rheumatism, a painful and obstinate class of malady, has its chief seat in the remote and country districts. Sleeping in the woods, living in log-houses, that are neither air nor water tight, and exposure to wet and cold in the pursuits of agriculture and hunting, sufficiently account for its prevalence. The teeth throughout America generally suffer under a premature decay. This has been ascribed to the quantity of warm

liquors drank in this country, though we should presume this not to be materially greater than in Europe; but this practice may render them more liable to the prevailing influence of cold, probably the chief source of toothach. It is remarkable also, that even in full health, amid rural habits, and without any deficiency of general vigour, the Americans are destitute of the bloom which in Europe is usually considered as the index of it. This, according to Mr Birkbeck, may be ascribed to the deep shade of the woods; but it is equally observable in the towns and in the most cleared districts. The same pallid tint, with the speedy decay of the teeth, is noticed among the colonists of New South Wales; so that it seems to depend upon some climatic influence, with the cause of which we are yet unacquainted.

The products of the mineral kingdom in North America, though they possess by no means that brilliant and prominent character which belongs to those of the southern regions of that continent, are extensive, solid, and useful. The whole of that primitive range which traverses the northern States is stored with iron-ore, which is worked in many places with advantage on a large scale. Lead is found in various parts, but particularly at Southampton. The drift here, carried 800 feet under a hill, forms a long narrow passage, cut chiefly out of the solid rock, nearly similar to that of the Peak Cavern in Derbyshire. A gun is fired at the entrance; a boat comes out, upon which the visitor lies down, and is ferried through. Mr Hitchcock calculates the annual produce at nearly 20,000 dollars.

The southern tracts of the Alleghany, composed of secondary rocks, contain numerous veins of iron, but are very scantily supplied with other metallic products. In North Carolina, however, is found the only specimen of the precious metals which has been discovered in the wide range of the United States. A space of about 1000 square miles along the River Pedee, or Yadkin, is almost universally covered with a stratum of gravel and clay, from which gold may be extracted in greater or less abundance. The metallic particles are obtained by throwing the earth into a wooden vessel, rocking it like a cradle, or stirring it with a wooden rake. The metal appears in portions of various size, from a pin's head to one or two pennyweights. There have been occasionally found pieces of 400 to 600 pennyweights, and even in one instance, of 28 lbs.; but in general it is too poor to repay the labour of extraction. Yet the brilliant ideas which are attached to gold have excited the eager cupidity and adventure of the natives of this district. They have recourse to the most extraordinary means of tracing it out, not omitting even the divining rod. They are in general poor and ignorant, and the country consists in a great measure of a barren surface, covered with thin forests and sand-hills. Elegant specimens sometimes occur, which might adorn the cabinet of the curious mineralogist; but, not coming under any scientific eye, they are melted into bars, and employed in trade. A curiosity, however, to possess some specimen of this brilliant product of their territory is very general, and there is scarcely an individual who does not possess some

trifling article made of gold. The entire value of the metal received at the mint of Carolina prior to 1820 is stated in Silliman's Journal at 43,689 dollars.

The vast region which extends west of the Alleghany presents in many points a mineral character differing from that of the east. The calcareous character of all its rocks modifies that of the substances imbedded in them. Coal, which on the other side of the mountains exists copiously only on the west of Pennsylvania and the upper tracts of Virginia, appears along the northern bank of the Ohio in almost inexhaustible beds. The saline springs, called licks, are very numerous; yet many of them are neither very copious nor very strongly impregnated, and bear no comparison with the immense deposits beyond the Missouri. Great quantities of nitre are contained in the caves of Kentucky. Iron too, so generally diffused through the United States, is not wanting here; and there are several mines of lead.

The immense region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains has as yet been crossed only by lines of exploratory expeditions, and has not been examined in any full or connected manner. The grandest mineral feature yet observed is that of the lead district on the Missouri. Mr Schoolcraft, in his interesting treatise on the subject, considers this as a mineral territory not paralleled by any other in the world. It is 70 to 100 miles in length, 40 to 45 in breadth, and contains an area of about 3150 square miles. The ground is barren, and presents a rolling surface, like that of a body of water in gentle agitation. The rocks belong to the primitive formations,

and present the only granite that occurs in the long line between the two great mountain-chains. The ore occurs in the form of lead-glance, galena, or sulphuret of lead. The produce during the three years ending in 1819, is stated at 3,726,000 lbs., selling at 4 cents per pound. The saline products of this region are also immense, especially in the arid and sandy tracts to the west. The Grand Saline and the Rock Saline, observed in the travels of Mr Pike and Dr Sibley, present this substance on a scale only paralleled by the great salt-plain of Abyssinia. Several of the rivers that flow into the Arkansa are almost as salt as the sea.

The *animal* creation in North America exhibits the same generic features as in Europe and Northern Asia, accompanied in most instances with specific distinctions that are somewhat marked. The domestic animals of temperate Europe transported to this continent have prospered and multiplied; but the character of its native animal tribes has an analogy to the northern and almost Arctic zoology of the old world. Our plan and limits will admit only of a slight and very rapid sketch of this extensive subject.

The most interesting feature of the animal creation in this western continent is perhaps the beaver (*castor fiber.*) These amphibia indeed occur in the northern parts of Europe and of Siberia, but on comparatively so small a scale, both in number and size, as to make the beaver with propriety be viewed as specially American. ' There appears to be absolutely no animal which makes so close an approach to human art and intelligence. The beaver builds his

habitation either in a pond, or in the channel of a river converted into a pond by strong piles laid across. This operation involves the greatest display of ingenuity. A tall tree is selected, and filed round with the teeth till it is undermined and falls across the stream. It is then fastened down by smaller trees and branches, brought often from a distance, and cemented with earth. In the little lake thus formed, the beaver rears his abode to the height of two, three, or four stories, half above and half under water, and with an opening into both elements. Stones and earth as well as wood are used in forming the walls, which, by the joint operation of the feet and the tail, are wrought into a mass so solid as to be proof against the action of current, wind, and weather. The outside is plastered in the neatest manner, the floor kept excessively clean, strewed with box and fir. A large provision of food, consisting of bark and leaves, is stored up for the winter. The beavers possess a social and almost moral existence. Each mansion contains from six to thirty inhabitants, which live together in the greatest harmony, and afford mutual aid and co-operation. From twelve to fourteen houses united form a village, containing thus a population of two or three hundred. The distinction of property is strictly observed, and there is even a union somewhat similar to that of marriage. Against this sage, meek, and peaceful animal man wages a relentless war, on account of the rich and soft covering with which nature has invested him. Traps lodged near his cabin, and the bait of which is composed of the leaves and bark of his favourite

tree, form an easy mode by which he is caught. One individual made a thousand pounds in five years by the trade; but the eager pursuit of it which was thus prompted soon thinned the species over America. They still, however, occur, though in smaller numbers, throughout the continent. The sebaceous substance called castor, secreted in a bag placed in a particular part of the body, is well known to be of important use in medicine. The musk-rat, also amphibious, is a sort of miniature beaver, inhabiting creeks and lakes, on the borders of which it constructs a conical cabin.

The deer species, though by no means peculiar to the New World, exist there in such vast numbers and peculiar forms, that they may be considered almost characteristic of the vast plains and forests of America. The elk and the moose, the latter of which is said to be most properly the *cervus alces*, are the largest of this elegant species of animal. The elk has a large head, resembling that of the horse; but his body and limbs connect him with the deer, though displaying a superior size and strength. The horns are three feet long, of a roundish form, with pointed antlers, the lowest of which forms a curve downward over the eye. Some of the largest of these animals weigh as much as a thousand pounds. The moose is still larger, weighing 1300 or 1400 lbs., and standing twenty hands high. Its horns are without antlers, flat, palmated, and spreading so wide from the base, that the distance of the extreme branches is five or six feet. These animals are mild and harmless, feeding on grass and on the tender branches of the wil-

low and poplar. When attacked, they seek safety, first in the most rapid flight, with immense leaps, which they continue without intermission for twenty or thirty miles. When at last hunted down and reduced to desperation, they often turn and attack their pursuers with prodigious fury. By the united action of feet and horns they have been known to destroy a wolf. The Indians, who find in these animals a delicate and nourishing food, as well as valuable materials of clothing, make the pursuit one of the grand objects of their hunts. They endeavour to drive them in large bodies into an enclosed circle, formed partly by armed men, and partly by the banks of rivers or lakes, where, being attacked by canoes, they fall in great numbers. Notwithstanding this constant chase, vast herds still continue to cover all the plains in the west; but the fire-arms and the cultivation introduced by Europeans have been so much more deadly, that they are now rarely seen to the east of the Mississippi.

There are other species of American deer. The red deer is much larger than that of Europe, standing three feet and a half high, with horns sometimes two feet long; yet Cuvier conceives that it may be a variety of the same animal. It is distinguished by elegance of form, strength and swiftness. The *cervus wapiti*, though bearing the general aspect of the red deer, has several specific variations, and is considerably taller, rising to the height of eighteen hands, in attaining which a youth of twelve years is spent; and the wapiti reaches so remarkable an age, that "as old as the wapiti" has become an Indian proverb.

Like all the rest of the species, he is mild, and so affectionate, that when one of a herd drops, the rest abandon themselves to grief, and fall an easy prey to the hunter. The Virginian stag, found also in Louisiana and the Missouri territory, is a smaller animal, about the size of the European fallow-deer. On the western side of the Rocky Mountains, a species observed by Lewis and Clarke, from the length of its ears, is called by them the mule-deer.

Of the bovine species, the only example presented by the United States consists in the animal called sometimes the buffalo, but more properly the bison. It is distinguished from the European ox by the great bulk of the fore-part of the body, and by a mass of flesh, which, rising at the shoulders, extends along the back, and is overgrown, as well as the head and neck, with long rough hair, giving the animal a hideous appearance. The full-grown male measures ten feet in length, and weighs from 1600 to 2000 lbs. These animals appear now rarely and in small numbers in the Eastern States; but in the boundless prairies of the west they roam in immense herds, sometimes (it is positively asserted) amounting to no less than 10,000. Mr Sibley describes their approach from behind a range of hills as announced by a sound like distant thunder, and their rushing down into the valley as one of the grandest spectacles that the human eye could behold. Another host was observed by Mr Bradbury at rutting season, when the males were fighting in various directions with a fury almost unexampled, and several hundred battles were waging at the same moment. Yet in general they are peace-

able, and even shy, shunning the approach of man, and standing on their defence against the ferocious animals. When attacked by a band of wolves, they range themselves in a circle, placing the young and infirm in the centre, and joining their horns so close as to form an impenetrable phalanx, which their ferocious assailants vainly attempt to break. When, however, they have not time to form this circle of defence, or when accident breaks it, they fall an easy prey. Mr Sibley, with eighty Osage Indians, attacked a corps of 2000 buffaloes, when the firing of guns, yells of the savages, and roaring of this crowd of affrighted animals, formed a scene not to be described. The result, however, was the killing of twenty-seven buffaloes, with only a slight hurt to one of the Indians. The flesh is good, and the hump on the shoulder is considered a delicious morsel. The skin, the fleece, or hair, and the horns, are all subservient to important uses.

Of animals of prey, America has not those noble and beautiful varieties which give to the unfrequented regions of the Old World a sublime and awful character. The lion, the tiger, the elephant, those kings of the African and Indian forest, are unknown to the boundless deserts of the West. It is the huge and shapeless form of the bear, divided into the varieties of black, brown, and grizzly, that spreads terror through the American prairie. In following the course of Lewis and Clarke, we have had occasion to see some deadly and desperate encounters with this animal. Yet the bear, at least of the two first species, is not generally furious till attacked or wounded.

A great part of his food being vegetable, his flesh, to those who can overcome their reluctance to eat it, is both agreeable and nourishing: the bacon made from it is said to surpass that of the hog. The fat, oil, skin, and fur, are of value. These qualities, good and bad, of the bear have raised up an incessant war against him, which has driven him almost beyond the range of settlement. The Indians have a wild record regarding this animal, that he is brought into the world a mere formless mass, which the tongue of the mother licks into shape and life. His shyness, with the remote and unfrequented spots sought by the mother for the purposes of parturition, has given room to the love of the marvellous to hatch this fable, which close observation has already disproved.—The racoon is a small bear about the size of a fox, which he resembles in some features. He has thick and short legs, and sharp claws, with which he readily climbs trees, feeding on acorns, fruit, corn, birds, crabs, oysters, and every thing which occurs to him in the course of his nightly prowling. He is not an object of dread to man, but is pursued by the hunter for his flesh, which is good, and for his long, thick, and soft hair, which is employed in the manufacture of hats.

The wolf, less powerful, but fiercer and more bloody, is found, like the bear, in every region and every climate of America, and is everywhere the relentless foe of man and beast. Hunting in packs, with a frightful noise, the wolves overpower animals whose individual strength is greater than their own. Hovering round the villages of the early colonists, even when

unable to find entrance, they rendered the abodes dreary by their dismal nightly howlings. Great pains have been taken to extirpate them from the settled quarters, and in New Hampshire, whose mountainous tracts are still infested by them, a reward of twenty dollars is given for each head. In the Missouri region they often gorge themselves on the flesh of the bison till they are unable to move. They are taken chiefly by log-traps, and their skins and furs are of some value.

Of the feline species, which includes the most terrible of our beasts of prey, the only large specimen is the cougouar, called the American panther, and in fact resembling the animal of that name in Africa and Asia. It is generally five or six, and has even occurred nine feet long, fierce and untameable, committing dreadful nightly ravages among the flocks; but though occasionally seen in every quarter of America, it nowhere appears in great numbers. The wild cat, harbouring in the mountains, is by no means an enemy to be despised. It is sometimes three feet long, leaps on the neck of cattle and deer, and by tearing the jugular vein, quickly destroys them. On one occasion a cat was seen to seize a calf, and leap with it up a ledge of rocks fifteen feet high.

The other quadrupeds of America are of a secondary class. Squirrels of numerous and peculiar species, and variously striped and coloured, leap continually from bough to bough, amid its endless forests. There is a singular animal, called from its leap the barking squirrel, and from its bark the prairie dog, but seeming really to be a new species of marmot,

vast hives of which are found in the country to the west of the Mississippi. They reside in towns or villages which cover several hundred acres, and consist of burrows or holes dug in the earth in a spiral form. As there is generally a burrow every ten steps, with a family in each, the population of these cities must be very great. The whole of this space, as the traveller approaches, is heard echoing with the sound of *wish-ton-wish*, as the Indians interpret the sound, which they have assigned as the name of the animal. On the first apprehension of danger, they disappear in the interior of their winding cells, the depth of which has never yet been fathomed. Major Pike poured into one 140 gallons of water in hopes of compelling the tenant to come forth, but without effect. The only chance of killing them is to fire the moment one is discovered, and shoot him at once dead; for when wounded only, he still makes his way downwards. It is by no means safe to pass through their village on account of their intimacy with the rattlesnake, which not unfrequently takes refuge in the same hole. Another feature of American zoology consists in the skunk or polecat, called by the French *bête puante*, or *enfant du diable*. This animal, neither swift nor powerful, is provided by nature with an instrument of defence, which renders him truly terrible to all who dare to offer him the slightest annoyance. Two bags near the abdomen contain each about half an ounce of a peculiar liquor, which he possesses the power of ejecting to the distance of fifteen or sixteen feet, and the stench of which is so horrible, that it has been known to excite a fever of several

days' continuance. No ablution, even when performed in a strong alkaline solution, can avail in removing this stain. The author of "Excursion," &c. describes in the most pathetic terms the protracted agony which he endured in consequence of a portion of this odious liquid being accidentally squirted upon him. It is very remarkable, that this noisome quality is said to be confined to the bag and liquor contained in it, while the flesh of the animal itself is nutritive, and even agreeable to the taste.

The martin or sable, and the ermine, are found in the northern parts of New England; but their fur does not attain that extreme richness and softness which, under the influence of extreme cold, distinguish those found in the Arctic climates of America and Siberia.

Among the quadrupeds, America produces striking remains of those gigantic forms, which no longer appear on our earth, but belong as it were to a departed creation. A few detached bones of the mammoth, an extinct species of elephant, exactly similar to that so largely found in Siberia, have been collected in different districts of New York and at the heads of the rivers of Virginia and Tennessee. Entire skeletons, and in much greater number, have been found in the same places, of another species marked by some peculiarities, called by Cuvier the *Mastodon Giganteum*,—of which a fine specimen is preserved in the Philadelphia museum. America contains also the gigantic fossil species of sloth called *Megatherium*; but the species peculiar to North America is said to be more properly termed Mega-

lonix. It is found exclusively in the limestone caves of Kentucky.

The feathered creation in America surpasses and almost eclipses, in the beauty of its plumage, the winged tribes of the East. Among all these beautiful inhabitants of the air the humming-bird shines conspicuous. It is at once the smallest and prettiest of all birds, and within a length of three inches comprises the most brilliant variety of tints. The breast is red, the back, wings, and tail of the finest pale green, the belly white, while the head is crowned with a tuft of jetty black; small golden spots embellish every part, and a light down covering gives to the whole a peculiar softness and harmony. This fair form, however, is devoid of music, and generally the notes which sound through the American woods are dull and dissonant when compared with those to which our groves are attuned. Yet Virginia possesses the mocking-bird, to whose note the palm over every other is generally assigned. This pride of the western songsters is chiefly distinguished by the talent of reflecting with superior beauty the song of every other bird, the cry of animals, and even the sound made by human voices and instruments. After a little practice, it performs in perfection a French or Scots air, or an American popular tune. With equal readiness, when brought within its sphere of hearing, it imitates the mewing of the cat, the bark of the dog, and even the grunt of the hog. This flexible imitation, however, though it amuses and surprises, does not seem to mark the same genuine musical excellence as a fine natural note like that

of the nightingale, to which the mocking-bird, when reduced to its own resources, is said to produce nothing equal.

The Amerians have few examples of the eagle, and the vulture, those mighty and kingly birds of prey, which build in the cliffs and rocky shores of Europe.* The humbler descriptions of the raven and hawk occur; but their ravages are not much complained of. The Turkey buzzard is a huge carrion bird, employed by the southern cities as a scavenger. The feathered game consists in a great measure of the domestic fowls of Europe, turkeys, geese, ducks, flying about in a wild state, of larger size and more delicate taste than in our poultry-yards. According to Mr Cooper, a wild, delicious, and peculiar flavour exists in every thing that ranges the American forest. Fire-flies glitter in the forests of the south; but mosquitoes and other insects armed with stings render the damp and low situations in summer and in the south almost untenable.

The serpent brood, in the deep thickets of America, swarm in monstrous and terrible numbers. Among the varieties of this odious species the rattlesnake is gloomily pre-eminent. This serpent is from three to five feet long, and nine feet only in the largest specimens. The alarming rattle from which it takes its name is formed by a bag of hollow bones,

* The calumet eagle, observed by Lewis and Clarke to the west of the Rocky Mountains, has not yet been very fully described.

loosely connected with each other, and producing this sound when the animal stirs. Rattlesnakes move slowly, and are said not to attack man unless molested; but this is often done unguardedly by treading on their dark haunts. When thus provoked, they coil themselves round, and, shaking their rattles, give the warning alarm; their whole body swells with rage, rising and falling like a pair of bellows; their cheeks become swollen and their lips constricted, discovering their fatal fangs; their eyes, red as flame, and their brandishing forked tongues, threaten instant death. They never strike unless sure of their aim. They have been alleged to possess a peculiar fascination, by which birds, squirrels, and other creatures, which are their chosen prey, lose all power over themselves, and rush by an irresistible impulse into the mouth of their destroyer. It does seem to be true, that their frightful aspect, and the sound of their rattle, when seen and heard by animals which recognise in this object their mortal enemy, paralyze them with terror: they quit their hold of the branches, and fall down an easy prey. A dog has been killed by them in a quarter of a minute and a man in two minutes; but in general the poison is of slower operation. In slight cases, decoctions of roots have been tried with success; and when the wound is in a fleshy part, the cutting out of the piece has proved a remedy; but when the poison has entered any of the main veins and arteries, the case is considered from the first as hopeless. The mocassin, called by the vulgar the copper-head snake, though it does not act with such a parade of terrible circumstance, is

considered to afford ground for still more serious alarm. When it coils itself, raises its upper-jaw, vibrates its long purple forked tongue, and directs its sickle-shaped poisonous fangs against an enemy, its aspect is said to be truly terrific. Though it does not pursue, it puts itself in the way of a passenger: its venom is equally deadly as that of the rattle-snake; and, according to Mr Pierce, its strength is neither diminished by time, nor extracted by boiling. The black snake is represented by some as venomous, which others deny. Certain it is, that his poison is by no means so deadly as that of the other two; and if he kills, it is rather by coiling round his victim and squeezing it to death. On the whole, however, he is considered so comparatively harmless, that the farmers rather favour his multiplication on account of the benefit derived from his hostile operations against rats, mice, and other vermin. We shall not pursue this species through their other varieties, as the bull-snake, the glass-snake, the coach-whip-snake, &c. Several of these are larger than those just described, but are not armed with any destructive qualities, at least against the human species.

The fishes which fill the coasts and bays of the United States are generally of the same species as on the opposite coasts of Europe. They are abundant, especially along the shore of the New England States; which, however, have no bank of the same extreme richness as that of Newfoundland. On the western coast, the whale, the seal, the porpoise, and other large and fatty amphibia of the Arctic seas, come down in great numbers; but the most valuable

tenant of those coasts is the otter, so distinguished, as already observed, for its rich and glossy skin, which forms a valuable article in commerce. The great rivers are infested with an alligator or cayman, of large dimensions, from twelve to twenty-three feet long, and with a mouth which opens nearly three feet wide. The body is as long as that of a horse, and its scales are said to be impenetrable to a rifle-ball. Its roar during the breeding season is like the sound of distant thunder. The alligator feeds on dogs, fishes, and insects. He lays himself on his back, opens wide his mouth, in which, unconscious where they are, numerous flies and other insects settle, when it suddenly closes on them, and they are all devoured.

The vegetable kingdom in America presents some bold and original features. Boundless forests, unless on the prairies and the barrens, cover its entire surface. The woods in the more northerly States are of species similar to those of Europe, and grow often to a remarkable size and height. The timber is often finely-veined and susceptible of a high polish; but it is observed not to be of so firm a texture, and consequently so fit for ship-building and the substantial parts of houses, as the oak of Britain and the fir of the Baltic. The forests of the south are adorned with many majestic and beautiful species; the superb magnolias, different kinds of palm, evergreen oak and walnut. Dr Hooker mentions particularly the majestic tulip-tree, (*liriodendral tulipifera,*) reaching to the height of 140 feet, and loaded with large and brilliant flowers. Beneath the shade of these

forests grow numerous beautiful plants peculiar to North America, and to the introduction of which our shubberies owe a great part of their beauty. The gardens of the curious also are adorned with many of the choicer shrubs and plants peculiar to this part of the American continent. The fruits of Europe transplanted thither have not only succeeded, but many of them have improved in a remarkable manner. The apple was not a native of this continent, yet there is now produced in New York an apple more grateful to the palate than in any other country. The peaches likewise are here excellent and most abundant; insomuch, that, besides contributing to the luxury of the table, they are occasionally employed in the fattening of hogs and in the distillation of a peculiar kind of spirit. Among the most remarkable of North American productions is the sugar-maple, which, on being skilfully tapped, will yield twenty or thirty gallons of saccharine gum, whence may be drawn five or six pounds of sugar. Unlike the cane, it thrives best in cold, wet, and mountainous countries.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

America a Federal Republic.—Principles on which it was formed.—Congress.—The President.—Salaries.—Revenue.—Military Force.—Navy.—Judicial Department.—Negro Slavery.—Indian Connexions.—General Estimate.

THE political system of the United States forms the most prominent feature in its social existence, and that on which all the others in some degree depend. Their constitution, considered in reference to the great extent of country over which it rules, is of a peculiar and almost unique character. Its merits and demerits have been a subject of dread debate among the politicians of the western hemisphere, being connected with questions which, in this eventful age, have most divided mankind and agitated the world. In the eyes of one class, the American government, and every thing relative to America, appear almost as the centre of all possible perfection, while to the other they afford the ceaseless object of the most severe and imbittered criticism. In the rapid outline which is now to be given, it will be our wish to avoid ting-

ing it with the passions of the day; to consider the Americans only as a great and growing portion of the great family of mankind; as those whom, being already our children, though they have left their father's house, we would wish still to esteem as such, not shutting our eyes to their infirmities, or raising higher an estimate reported already to be somewhat too high, yet studying to view the subject in a friendly light, and by no means to imbitter those partial animosities which already exist between the two nations.

The political system which thus so strikingly characterizes America is that of a pure democracy. It recognises no right of hereditary rule or distinction of birth. This system arose, perhaps necessarily, out of the circumstances under which the colonies separated from the mother country; and the wise and able individuals who had then the chief influence, instead of seeking to increase the popular action, studied, on the contrary, to introduce checks and springs, which, without actually being monarchy or aristocracy, might imitate the action and produce the effect of these political elements. Means of attaining this object were found in the federal combination, and in the division of the general government into several distinct branches.

The principle of the United States' constitution is federal, and it forms as it were less one distinct nation, than a very close alliance between a number of independent States. The colonies were founded without any dependence on each other, or any tie but that of a common origin. These, however, con-

stituted them all substantially the same people, and the revolutionary cause in which they all so cordially united superadded a tie of the closest nature; yet the original distinctions and feelings by which they were constituted different States continued still to subsist. A central government was formed to combine and unite their efforts; but this was without any prejudice to the independent jurisdiction and peculiar fabric of the States as they originally stood. This separate federal existence, though attended with inconveniences, was perhaps auspicious to the well-being of the States, and even necessary to their stability and duration. It afforded to patriotism that local and limited sphere, within which alone, perhaps, its flame can burn very brightly; and these separate state-legislatures, by being fixed in different parts of the Union, and even by drawing in different directions, steadied the central movement, and prevented this vast political mass from being carried along by the rapid and violent impulses to which single individuals or detached popular assemblies are liable.

Although, however, the central government of America was thus destined chiefly as a bond to hold together a number of separate States, it was fortunately and judiciously invested with powers much more extensive than those of the Greek Amphictyons, the German Diet, or even the States-General of Holland. The two former were little more than treaties of alliance, which soon became exceedingly nugatory; and the last, which demanded the accession of the provincial States to every great national measure, rendered the movements of the political machine in-

conveniently slow and cumbrous. The Americans therefore acted wisely when they vested all the general concerns and external interests of the Union in the central government. To them belongs the entire power of making peace or war, conducting negotiations, and concluding treaties with foreign states, supporting a regular military and naval force, and providing the funds out of which these expenses are to be defrayed. They have even the sole regulation of foreign commerce, which tends to and has actually had the unfortunate effect of causing these arrangements to be swayed by political motives and impulses. At the same time, by securing a complete freedom of interior intercourse, it has probably been on the whole better than if the affair had been intrusted to the separate States, who, actuated by local jealousy, might easily have been led into pernicious restrictions in relation to each other.

The general government consists of three members, the Representative Body, the Senate, and the President.

The House of Representatives forms the basis of the legislature, and is an assembly purely democratic. The members are elected by the whole body of the people, with the exclusion of Indians and Negroes. The members sit for two years, when a fresh election takes place. The proportion is nearly as one out of 40,000, which produces at present 118 members. The state-legislatures have no share in the elections, though each sends a member entitled to sit and speak, but not to vote. The elections, as may be supposed, among a people eagerly interested in political concerns,

and not endowed with the meekest and most softened temper, are carried on with considerable asperity. Even Mrs Wright, though disposed to view America in a favourable light, was shocked at the virulence displayed on these occasions. Every species of vituperation is lavished on the hostile candidate; pasquinades are put up, the streets resound with flaming orations, the newspapers are filled with imbittered paragraphs, the subject engrosses every company. Mr Cooper observes, that instances of proceeding to personal combat were not observed by him, and in his opinion are not numerous, but they are not without precedent. When, however, the choice is made, the storm is hushed, and affairs go on in their usual train till another similar period arrives. It is meantime remarked, that the multitude do not usually select representatives similar to themselves, but grave and respectable men of talent and experience.

The aspect of this august body, which sways the destinies of so great a portion of the earth, has not inspired much reverence into European spectators. The hall in which they meet, though it possesses, in Mr Cooper's eyes, a simple grandeur, is viewed by most others as humble and even shabby. The members lounge about, look out at the window, talk to each other, write and fold letters, and bestow, unless in special cases, scarcely any attention on the orators by whom the floor is occupied. It is indeed on all hands admitted, that their harangues are spun out to a length which is perfectly unreasonable and intolerable. It is not at all rare for a speaker to keep possession of the floor for three

successive days; and the number who can hold on for two or three hours is lamentably great. These lengthy effusions, as may be expected, by no means adhere closely to the subject, but run out into all sorts of extraneous and irrelevant topics. The necessary consequence of these wordy impediments is a great slowness in the progress of public business; and yet this slowness is deemed by Mr Cooper to be not, perhaps, an unsafe fault in a government, the greatest evils of which have hitherto proceeded from rashness and precipitation.

The senate is constituted in a manner entirely different, and without any direct agency from the body of the people. The legislatures of the different States elect each two members; and thus Delaware, which has only a population of 70,000, elects as many as New York, with eighteen times that amount. Now that the States are twenty-four, the senate of course is composed of forty-eight members. The senators must have attained the age of thirty, and they sit for six years; a third, however, being changed every two years. They form thus, not indeed a body really aristocratic, but one which has somewhat of aristocratic action, whose gravity and stability tend to check those too rapid and violent movements to which a pure democracy is liable.

The executive part of the administration remained still to be formed, and for this purpose an entirely new machinery is brought into play. There is created within each State, by arrangements of its own, sometimes by the legislature, sometimes by the whole people, and sometimes by only a part, a body of elec-

tors who name the candidate on whom they wish that the choice should fall. This vote is transmitted in a sealed packet to Congress, by whom all the votes are opened in one eventful day, and the office given to him who commands a majority of States. He must possess indeed more than half the entire number, or eleven out of the twenty, otherwise the choice devolves upon Congress. The functions of this officer are more ample than might be expected from the basis upon which the constitution rests. He has the entire command both of the military and naval force, though it is not understood or expected that he should head either in person. He appoints to all civil and military offices, subject to the approbation, that is, to the veto of two-thirds of the senate, which is not, however, very often interposed. Upon the laws which have passed the two legislative assemblies he does not possess an absolute negative, but he can suspend and arrest the operation of any particular act till it is presented to him again with a majority of two-thirds in its favour; his opposition must then cease. The President is elected for four years, at the end of which period he may be re-elected, and so on indefinitely; so that there might be room for an eminently popular character to slide insensibly into the possession of this high station, and the constitution to become monarchical.

It is a subject of boast that the emoluments of the President are singularly moderate. To the supreme functionary of a nation of twelve millions, an allowance of 25,000 dollars, (about £5400,) with a furnished house, certainly deserves that appellation. Mr Cooper

indeed contends, that he may live well, and save a good proportion of it; but we rather incline to concur with Mr Warden, that it cannot defray the expense of the open table which he is expected to keep. He is understood to give dinners twice a-week to members of Congress, public functionaries, and any eminent strangers who may happen to be at Washington. Once a-fortnight also the "White House," as it is called, is thrown open to citizens, male and female, of every description, with only the tacit understanding of their being tolerably well-dressed. Mr Cooper mentions among those present on such an occasion an innkeeper, a petty shopkeeper, and the daughter of a mechanic of Baltimore. It is not even very uncommon for a carman to leave his waggon at the door, and come in to shake hands with the President, when he is well received, though this action is considered not strictly according to *bienséance*.

The salaries of all the other officers of state, when measured by the European standard, appear excessively moderate. The Vice-president has only 5000 dollars, (£1100,) the heads of departments 6000, (£1300,) the chief justice 5000, the inferior judges 4500. The ministers at foreign courts have 9000 dollars, (£1950,) with travelling expenses, which, to support the character of republican simplicity, does not appear to us so very inadequate as to Mr Cooper. According to his idea, the Americans pay their officers, not with any reference to dignity, but simply according to the time which the employment occupies, and the expenses which it involves. Hence all the lower departments of the service, which in Europe

are restricted to the smallest possible salary, are handsomely paid in America. Collectors of the customs have in some instances upwards of £1000 a-year, and even the subordinates from £200 to £250. A captain in the navy has appointments to the extent of £800 or £900, and many stations of no great dignity have from £500 to £600.

The cheapness of the American government, and the extreme lightness of its taxation, are themes which have been much expatiated on, not without an invidious reference to other governments not supposed in this respect to be so happily situated. The statement will, perhaps, on close inspection, appear to be somewhat exaggerated. The produce of American customs, which affords almost the entire revenue of the general government, is stated by Mr Cooper at twenty millions of dollars (£4,300,000.) The duties which produce this sum cannot be exceedingly light, and are not, perhaps, in any enlightened view of the subject, rendered more eligible by being partly destined to force the growth of American manufactures. However, with this revenue, the finances of the general state in time of peace are in a very flourishing state. The estimates for 1828 amounted only to 9,947,125 dollars, say ten millions. Of this there was for civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous, 1,828,385; military, 4,332,091; navy, 3,788,349. It seems vain to say with Mr Cooper, that these charges are in a great measure extra and occasional, because such charges always must and will occur in the conduct of so great a machine. This leaves, however, ten millions, of which three and a half defray the

interest of the public debt, while there remains a sinking fund for its extinction of more than seven millions. The sale of public lands, though at a low rate, takes place on so great a scale, that it might seem an important resource; yet it is said not to do much more than cover the expenses.

The expenditure of the general government, meantime, constitutes by no means the whole of the payments made by the American citizen. Each State has its separate machinery of government, assembly, courts, and militia, the expenditure of which must be defrayed by local and interior taxes. Some of these would be considered odious, even on this side of the Atlantic. A poll-tax, and a tax on horses and cattle, form part of the resources of Virginia. The levying of taxes by distress is reported by Mr Feron as a crisis by no means rare. In a country where there is little money, and little means of converting goods into specie, even small sums often cause a very severe pressure. The following statement of the revenue of the principal States is collected from Mr Warden's work:—

	Dollars.
Massachusetts,	306,000
New Hampshire,	30,000
Vermont,	23,000
New York,	317,000
Connecticut,	79,000
Pennsylvania,	701,000
Delaware,	72,000
Virginia,	414,000

	Dollars.
Kentucky, -	105,000
South Carolina, -	313,000

The regular military force of the United States, when considered in reference to the immensity of the frontier which it defends, is singularly limited. Ten thousand,—a great increase over the former peace-establishment,—was the number fixed by Congress in 1815, after the long war with Britain. Of these 5440 were infantry, 680 rifle, and 3200 artillery. The main defence of the country is made to rest on the militia, who comprise all the population between eighteen and forty-five, and amount, according to the latest returns, collected by Mr Warden, to 748,000. This militia cannot be, and is not, in a very high state of discipline; its manœuvres have even afforded scope for the pen of the satirist. According to Mr Lambert, the country militia meet only to eat and drink; and even in towns, canes and umbrellas are as numerous at a review as guns and bayonets. The American militia-officers make rather a misplaced display of their warlike titles, by which their effect is somewhat degraded. A major will be seen driving a stage-waggon, a colonel comes in to take your measure for a coat, and a general sells tape behind the counter. It has been observed indeed in England, that, during the period of her *volunteer* ardour, her high commands were disposed of in a similar manner. Her commanders, however, did not then carry their dignities beyond the field, and as soon as they entered the shop or the counting-room, resumed their civil denominations. The regular force seems in America

to be too small to establish a standard by which the militia may measure themselves; it is too small also to form a nucleus, round which, in the hour of exigency, an army can be speedily formed. In the event of a new war, the Americans must again purchase efficiency by passing through a series of defeat. In the last an army was formed by quotas of militia from the different States, sent to the frontier, where they remained only six months in actual service. The States soon discovered that they could never upon this system arrive at a military force of the smallest efficiency; they therefore began to enlist troops for five years, or for the term of the war. After being constantly beaten for two years, they began to fight well. They do seem to be naturally brave, and are said to take a more sure and deadly aim, and to effect greater execution, than most other troops, as seemed testified by the severe loss sustained by our troops at New Orleans. It was in the hands of the Americans, during the revolutionary contest, that the rifle first began to act powerfully on the destinies of war, and being adopted with powerful effect by the French, overcame the chivalrous repugnance of the old powers; and a rifle corps has become an established part of a modern army.

The navy, since the late war, has been a favourite service in America. The nation then fought certainly with signal bravery, and the guns and men being beyond their ratings, her frigates beat repeatedly a nominally superior British force. These, however, were only casual encounters, and America had no force which, ranged in the open sea, could enable her

to hold rank as a naval power. Since that time she has made extraordinary efforts to create for herself a maritime existence. In 1812 she had only seven frigates, four of which were of very small dimensions. Her present force consists of twelve sail of the line, one sixty, twelve forty-fours, three thirty-sixes, with some smaller vessels. The force in commission, however, is only a ship of the line, six frigates, two corvettes, and some smaller vessels, manned by 5318 men.* It has been observed, that the United States have too small a coast, as compared to the immense extent of their inland territory, to admit, in the future growth of their destinies, maritime greatness to become ever prominent. As, however, they have a coast, so they may come to have a navy, equal or superior to that of any European power. During the present age indeed they never can have one that will face Britain on the ocean: their efforts to form any thing more than a privateering navy cannot lead to much practical benefit. Much of the American timber wants the solidity necessary for shipbuilding; and hence several of the finest vessels constructed during the war, when there was not time to search or select, are now in a state of great partial decay; but it is asserted, that, with due leisure and caution, America contains materials of which perfectly good ships may be constructed.

The judicatory of the United States is rendered somewhat complicated by the existence of two sepa-

* Notions, II. 111—466.

rate systems of courts, and in some degree even of laws, one proper to the general government, the other to particular States. The United States have a supreme court, composed of a president and nine judges, and also a judge in each particular portion of the Union. To these tribunals belong all offences committed on the high seas, all questions between State and State and between the citizens of one State and another, all in which the general government are in any shape parties. The functions of these two sets of judges, however, are not so fully defined that embarrassing questions are not apt to arise. The Americans are a litigious people, and the proportion of lawsuits exceeds that which takes place in any European country. The Bachelor excuses them on account of the great extent and loose titles of their landed property, their large commercial transactions, and the cheapness of justice, which becomes in this view a sort of evil; but there does seem, moreover, to be a spirit of contest seeking to vent itself in this channel. The swarm of lawyers exceeds even the great demand which this disposition creates. The bar, as an able journalist has observed, is "the repository of American talent, the school in which their statesmen are educated." All the presidents, except Washington and Adams, most of the ministers and diplomatic agents, and a great body of the Congress, have been and are lawyers. The proceedings of supreme courts, and of those which sit in the great cities, are said to be marked by dignity and impartiality. In the country courts, the former quality at least is not quite so conspicuous. The emoluments

seem in many cases not sufficient to allow the occupation of judge to be followed as a separate profession. Mention is made of a butcher who in the morning cut up and sold legs of mutton, and in the evening ascended the seat of judgment, and decided on the lives and properties of his fellow-citizens. Indeed, in these outer quarters, physical strength and prowess seem as often called into requisition as profound erudition. The judge, who, in going on circuit, has to swim his horse sometimes ten times a-day, and to travel under a temperature below *Zero*, must combine the attributes of a hunter with those of a lawyer. At other times their prowess and hardihood stand a still severer test. A judge having been insulted by the foreman of a jury, seized a large cow-hide, which he applied with such vigour, that his adversary, though attempting to defend himself with a formidable knife, soon had his clothes reduced to tatters. Another, learning that a culprit just condemned at his tribunal had made his escape, and was riding armed through the street setting justice at defiance, ran up to him, and, presenting a pistol, shot him through the heart. Nor do the judges always discourage in others these *voies de fait.* On one occasion, when a question had become somewhat intricate, the two parties having overtured to decide it with their fists, the judge gave his cordial consent, and even assisted in forming the ring. Even when matters do not proceed to these extremities, there is an anxious study to gratify the appetite of the audience for coarse buffoonery. At the circuit-court of Indiana, Mr Flint noticed a large jug of water, which

stood for the convenience of the bench, on which the lawyer had contrived to get delineated the caricatured portrait of a judge. To this figure, in the course of his pleading, he frequently bowed and addressed himself,—an elegant sally, which threw the spectators into bursts of laughter. In these quarters, to have read Blackstone, and attended an attorney for a year, is thought quite sufficient training for a practitioner. These tribunals in fact do not command much of the public confidence, and an impression prevails that, all judges not being of the heroic temper of those mentioned, fear or the love of popularity induces them to allow impunity, or to inflict very inadequate penalties on offences that deeply affect the public safety. Under this impression, the people have instituted what they term Lynch's law, administered by a body of *regulators*. These sages mark with a critical eye the course of the tribunals, and whenever due punishment appears to them not to have been awarded, take into their own hand the care of supplying the deficiency. With this view they provide arms and a cow-hide, and, having watched and waylaid the unfortunate culprit, inflict such a portion of stripes as his iniquity may seem to deserve. Lynch, however, not being subject to the same checks which operate in the case of ordinary judges, his decisions are alleged to be sometimes as rash and partial as their mode of enforcement is irregular. Yet this kind of justice, which can only be tolerated in the rudest infancy of political life, is said to be so deeply-rooted, that, till a district is somewhat densely peopled, and cities of

some magnitude are formed, scarcely any attempts are made to check it.

Another and a deeper blot in the political system of America is the existence of negro slavery. It has indeed been banished from about half of the States; but it prevails in full force among the rest, and several of those newly-formed have incorporated into their constitution the right of maintaining slaves. Contrary to what obtains in the West Indies, their numbers increase, and even with rapidity, which seems to justify the assertion, that, so far as the mere supply of their wants is concerned, they are well treated, and that no overpowering labour is imposed upon them. There seems yet to be no excess of meekness in their treatment. The whip is still the instrument of discipline, and even fair hands do not hesitate to apply it. Mr Fearon mentions a fine lady at Washington who gave parties and attended the levees, but who at home exercised such merciless discipline, that the cries of her negroes scared away an English family who had taken up their abode in the vicinity. The Western States seem liable to peculiar exception as to their treatment of this unfortunate race. Mr Hodgson used to hear the sound of the lash across the great bank or *levée* of the Mississippi,—a distance of half a mile. One planter made his negroes work during half the night, holding in his hand a gun, with which he shot those who appeared to slacken in their exertions. No means appear to have been taken to check this enormity; though, when the negroes themselves rose and killed him, the thing was

winked at under the circumstances. Once indeed Mr Fearon thought he saw a spark of humanity when a gentleman, speaking of a negro not his own, but under his charge, having been unjustly flogged in his absence, declared he had not been so vexed for seven years; but this view of the subject was soon changed, when the gentleman added, that he would not have cared at all, had the negro been his own, but could not bear the idea of a friend's property suffering in his hands. After all, the most rooted evil appears to be in that dire proscription which exists in the mind of the white American against his sable fellow-creature, and which is in no degree abated by his becoming free, industrious, and respectable. In South America there is a nice gradation of ranks, always rising with the proportion of white blood which flows in the veins of each race or individual. In the North there exists no gradation; every one who has a drop of black blood in his veins is branded as negro. No property, no character, will induce the meanest white to be seen walking or eating with a black. The spirited American will not enter a public carriage or conveyance in which there is a being of a different colour. Even in the liberal city of New York, Mr Fearon saw a black man driven with contumely from a barber's shop, where he came to have his hair cut, being told "they did not cut coloured men here." Mr Fearon, remonstrating upon this system as very unprofitable in a professional view, was answered, "I reckon you do not know that my boss (employer) would not have a single ugly or clever gentleman

come to his store, if he cut coloured men; now my boss, I guess, ordered me to turn out every coloured man from the store right away, and if I did not, he would turn me off slick." The fact was fully confirmed at dinner by some gentlemen of liberal education and professions, who declared, "Right, perfectly right,—I would never go where a coloured man was cut." Even on ground, where the king and the beggar should stand on a footing of the most sacred equality, America interposes a fatal separation. In the awful presence of Heaven the white will not appear in the company of his dark brother; he must have a church for himself; or, if the size of the place does not admit of this, there must be at least an entirely separate place allotted to the two colours. These feelings are the more preposterous, as they belong to those who publicly and daily proclaim that their political system is founded on the basis of the most perfect equality of all mankind, and the acknowledgment of no distinctions but those of mind and talent. Yet so inconsistent a creature is man, that the Americans are not singular here, and the same frightful anomaly is found in the most celebrated of the ancient democracies. But sentiments thus hourly repeated cannot fail to reach these sons of bondage; and what are they to think? The author of 'Excursion, &c.' does not hesitate to predict from this dark source, a civil war and a future black empire to America. No friend of mankind could desire to remedy the present evil by a crisis which would be attended with so many horrors. Some hopeful symptoms are in fact beginning to appear.

All Americans of a high class, as to intellect and character, plead grieved and guilty upon the subject. They urge in palliation, that the Americans, when they assumed the republican character, did not make slavery, but found it already existing on such a scale, that to have set free, men wholly unfit for liberty, would have been a step equally ruinous to all parties. They observe, that one-half of the States have abolished slavery; that New York since 1826 has set free 10,000; that emancipations are everywhere numerous; and even in Maryland, though a slave State, there are 38,000 free negroes. Societies even have already been formed for the purpose of promoting emancipation. The Bachelor complains of it as unreasonable, that the white man should be called upon to marry a negro or any other person when he has not the least inclination to do so; though we cannot but remark, that there are many stages between marrying an individual and treating that individual with every excess of contumely; and that, above all, the legal prohibition of such a union, wherever there is the smallest tincture of the degraded blood, is giving the full sanction and support of government to separations which it ought to be their first object to narrow and soften down. Altogether we are inclined to hope that the cause of reason and humanity is gaining ground, and will continue to advance; and that, as the American character becomes more intellectual and refined, physical distinctions, which absorb the attention of men of uncultivated minds, will cease to be viewed in the same prominent and important light.

There is another race to whom the United States

stand in a peculiar and painful relation. They have driven before them the Indian hunter and warrior, who had remained for ages the undisturbed tenant of his boundless immensity of forest. Whatever study there may have been to do this in an amicable and conciliatory manner, the views of the Indians respecting it are clearly manifested by the eagerness with which they fly to any standard raised against America. Yet it is evident that the Indian name must ultimately melt away before this race of strangers from beyond the ocean. It is manifestly impossible to discover any law of nations, according to which the Americans claim the dominion of these vast regions in disregard to occupants so long prior. Yet the well-wisher to his species is irresistibly forced to sympathize in their views. There are great interests of the human race, before which the strongest claims of antique right and pre-emption must give way. Such an interest is that of covering these boundless plains with civilized and enlightened millions, instead of the few scattered and savage thousands who now wander over their surface. The States do seem to have made it their study, since the thing was to be done, to effect it with the least possible wrong. Their system, as we have seen, was to purchase from the Indians their country; and though the price with which they bribed them to this act of self-destruction was most inadequate, there was certainly no other way which would not have been more unjust. With regard to the details of Indian warfare, it appears that there is much of violence and even of atrocity, and that often, instead of softening the horrors of savage

warfare, the Americans have copied them, and even taken the scalping-knife in their hands; but these outrageous proceedings appear to be carried on chiefly by that lawless frontier-race who exist beyond the pale, and are bound by none of the ties of society. They seem to form no part of the regulated and authorised course of national proceeding. The States government, it appears by Mr Cooper's statement, spend six millions of dollars, considerably above a million sterling, in friendly dealings with the Indians, sending missions, fulfilling treaties, paying annuities, making presents, and a little in supporting schools and promoting civilization. There are 1291 Indian scholars, and even missionaries are employed, though it is contrary to the principles of the government to pay for religious instruction. In general the Indians have retreated from the vicinity of the whites to the great western prairies, on which a confused assemblage of nations and languages is now collected. Some, however, lingering round the graves of their fathers, still hold to those little tracts called reservations, which, by a remnant of prudence, they kept back out of the sweeping sales made of their paternal domain. The whole number east of the Mississippi, and thus enclosed within the territory of the States, has been estimated at 30,000. They are chiefly in the extreme Southern States, which have not felt so long the pressure of European occupation,—Creeks, Choktaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles. Among some of these tribes rude approaches have been made to civilization; the lands are imperfectly cultivated, and some cattle are seen grazing. The Chickasaws, and one

or two other tribes, have even been observed slowly increasing their numbers. But in general this close contact with civilized people has the effect of corrupting the Indians, of breaking down whatever is lofty and estimable in their character, and of gradually thinning their population.

Such generally is this celebrated constitution, which has attracted so remarkably the attention of mankind, and has furnished a model and impulse to such mighty revolutions in the eastern hemisphere. It is boasted by the votaries of popular government, that all the objections which have for ages been urged against a republican form are refuted by this single example. The allegation, that such a government must be swayed by the blind passions and shortsighted views of the multitude, is put to silence, it is said, by that train of lofty and dignified wisdom which has guided all the councils of America. There is really no wish here to criticise severely the American government; but when such high pretensions are advanced, and such important inferences drawn from them, it behoves us to meet steadily the realities of the case. It must then be fully conceded, in the first place, that the American government has for a long period fulfilled towards its subjects those essential obligations which every people are entitled to demand. It has preserved, unless on some of its savage borders, full security of life, person, and property; and has thus afforded full scope to that rapid increase of wealth and population, of which the means were afforded by their vast natural advantages. But that no acts of signal folly have been committed is an assertion which their

best friends neither can nor ought to hazard. The embargo was surely one of the most absurd and suicidal steps that ever were adopted by any nation; of which, when it was found incapable of being executed, the non-intercourse system was only a mitigation. Nothing shall be said of the war into which they plunged with this country, lest the remark should be, or appear to be, influenced by British feelings. But it cannot fail to be admitted among the higher class of politicians, that, at this moment, thick darkness covers America, as to the first principles of political economy; that maxims, which, in all the enlightened circles of Europe, have been finally exploded, reign at Washington in full sway. It is remarkable indeed, that illiberal and exclusive commercial views have very generally prevailed with domocratic governments: they prevailed at least with the Cortes of Spain and the Diet of Sweden. The principle of encouraging our own workmen, and keeping money, as it is supposed, in the country, addresses itself to a sort of limited common sense, and feeling of nationality, which is congenial to the mind of the multitude, whose influence, however, in swaying the decisions of government is thus rendered manifest.

Another maxim, which had become fixed among political theorists was, that the republican form can never exist, unless on a small scale, and with a limited range of territory. All the great democratic States of antiquity, in proportion as they extended their dominion, lost their liberty; but America, with the most extensive territory of any existing nation, has retained her republican form for upwards of

forty years, without its being exposed to any violent or alarming convulsion. The representative system, that great modern improvement, which rose as it were out of the chaos of the dark ages, has rendered the arrangement possible. Yet it must be remarked, that the States, in their present comparatively early stage, are exempt from many sources of violence and tumult, which must grow with their rapid growth in population and wealth. They have as yet no immense capitals, with, on one side, overgrown fortunes and profuse luxury; on the other, a necessitous and corrupted populace. But all these are fast coming, and will bring with them dangers and crises that at present have no existence. Happily society has a power within itself of remedying its own evils, especially those of which the approach is gradual; and I am very willing to hope, that the political changes which must follow the social and commercial state may come on insensibly, without unhinging the frame of society.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND SOCIAL STATE.

General Views.—Religion.—No National Church.—Advantages and Disadvantages.—Sects.—Numbers of Clergy.—Methodists.—Camp Meetings.—Learning.—Diffusion of Knowledge.—Universities.—Printing.—Newspapers.—Language.—National Character.—Varieties.—Spirit of Independence.—Fighting.—Duelling.—Curiosity.—Hospitality.—Inns.—Enterprise and Indolence.—Peculiarities of the New-Englanders.—Virginians.—Backwoodsmen.—Cities.—Washington.—New York—Philadelphia—Boston—Charleston—Pittsburgh—Cincinnati—New Orleans, &c.

It is proposed in this chapter to contemplate America in relation to the higher attributes of mind and thought; to consider man as he there exists, in his capacity of an intellectual, social, and moral being. It is impossible under these high views not to regard with deep interest a people destined to become the greatest on the earth, whose population will ultimately surpass that of all Europe, and is fast covering the whole of the western world.

It will not probably be objected, that we should

begin with considering America in its religious state, both on account of the paramount importance of the subject, and of its peculiar agency in founding and creating the fabric of American society. The chief religious peculiarity of America consists now in a negative arrangement, which, both as to its local influence and its general expediency, has been the subject of much discussion. Church and state, between which, in other civilized countries, the connexion is so close, are here studiously dissevered. The nation, as such, makes no profession, provides no funds, but leaves to all its members to provide for themselves such mode and extent of religious instruction as to them may appear advisable. Thus, it is said, every form of opinion is left to exercise its natural and unbiassed influence on the human mind; and those intolerant and even persecuting courses which have been adopted by the ruling religions, with the sectarian enmities which they have kindled, find no scope in the western social system. But though an established religion, like every human constitution, is liable to many evils and abuses, and has, perhaps, been always hitherto conducted on too exclusive a system, the question is, whether it is not accompanied with good sufficient to counterbalance evils that are the necessary result of human imperfection? The questions are, whether under the actual system there is enough of religious instruction? and whether that religious instruction is the very best that can be obtained?

Is there enough of religious instruction? The affirmative of this has been zealously argued by the advocates of America, from the number of clergy

supported in several of the great cities which retain still a portion of the ardent religious feeling under which they were founded. But the decision must be formed from a general view of the state of the Union. Mr Cooper, unable to deny that America has the aspect of being on the whole somewhat slenderly provided, argues, however, that the comparison with Europe must be made according to population, and not according to the vast and thinly-inhabited surface of the American territory. More space, however, calls for some extra exertion to place the means of instruction within the reach of its scattered occupants,—an object which, from its great importance, seems to have a fair claim on the general exertions of the society, and not to be left to the local resources of a small and poor population. But even considered as to numbers only, Mr Warden's Ecclesiastical Statistics exhibit America falling much short of any European country. It is observed, that in Britain there is somewhat more than one clergyman to a thousand persons, which seems a pretty fair allowance; but in America there is on an average only one clergyman to 2700 inhabitants. In the New-England States indeed the deficiency is not very serious; but in Virginia and Maryland there is only one clergyman to 15,000, and in North Carolina only one to 27,000; in Georgia only ten altogether. This deficiency is probably a consequence, reacting upon its cause, of the comparatively demoralized state of a great part of this southern population; and, generally speaking, the more need there is of instruction, the less inclination will there be to provide it. It may

be observed, that the above number is of clergymen regularly educated, and does not include itinerants, and persons who carry on the business of preaching along with other callings. But the most entire failure is in the case of new townships or settlements, formed often at an inaccessible distance from any other scene of civilized life. Mr Cooper indeed asserts, that a longer period than fifteen years seldom elapses before movements begin to be made for building a church and endowing a pastor; but it is certainly taking the matter very coolly to leave the settlers for such a period without any means of obtaining religious instruction. To this may probably be ascribed, in a great measure, that lawless and demi-savage character which reigns on all the outer border of the settlements.

Another and equally important question is, how this arrangement is likely to affect the quality of the instruction? Here, too, human imperfection leaves only a choice of difficulties. An establishment, well secured and amply endowed, is apt to despise popularity too much, and to sink into supine secular habits. On the other hand, a state of dependence on his congregation is in many respects unsuitable to the situation and unfavourable to the usefulness of a clergyman. Bound to inculcate truths which are unwelcome to a great body of his hearers, he ought to stand in an independent position, and to be able to make the pleasing of them only a secondary consideration. No body of men, perhaps, indeed, will demand or admit the preaching of doctrines absolutely immoral; yet there will often be chosen points on which

it will not be prudent to dwell very copiously. A national religion, though it may contain many errors, is likely to be organized in a deliberate manner, and by an enlightened part of the nation; while that of which the arrangements are framed by the majority of a popular congregation must always be powerfully influenced by the unenlightened majority of which it consists. The religious state of America, accordingly, seems characterized by greater excesses of fanaticism than in Europe, and, as their natural consequence perhaps, by a greater prevalence among the thinking classes of slight and sceptical forms of belief.

To uninformed men, scarcely susceptible of any impressions but those derived from the senses, physical religion, or bodily exercise, however unprofitable, must always have a more powerful attraction than that of which the employments are more refined and spiritual. The straining of the voice to an extraordinary pitch seems an essential requisite, at least in the country districts; the pulpit-orators appeared to Mr Flint to scream in emulation of the priests of Baal, while the audience joined in loud vociferations. Under this influence, indeed, there have been generated in America, sects whose devotional exercises consist solely of fantastic and irregular bodily movements, —Thumpers, Dunkers, and Shakers. Mr Cooper has candidly offered us a narrative of the formulæ of this last body. Their chief exercise is religious dancing, which they justify by reference to David's dancing before the ark, and the maxim of Solomon, that there is a time for all things. This exercise, however, has nothing gay or tumultuary, but is proceeded to in the

most serious and systematic manner. The two sexes, in attire neat and rigidly simple, arrange themselves in lines opposite to each other. At length one of the elders gives the signal by saying, "Let us labour;" but when Mr Janson was present it was, "As David danced, so will we before the Lord." They then begin moving forward about three feet, turning, shuffling, and performing during the whole time a similar round of evolution. By the last-mentioned writer their movements are compared to heavy jumping, or to those produced by paroxysms of ague. "It is scarcely possible," says Cooper, "to conceive any thing more ludicrous, and yet more lamentable. I felt disposed to laugh, and yet I could scarcely refrain my tears." The members of these bodies seem to subject themselves to a spiritual tyranny, exceeding that which was exercised by the Catholic religion in the utmost plenitude of its sway. They have renounced all private property, placing the produce of their industry altogether at the disposal of their minister, or spiritual head. They have also adopted the principle of the most rigid celibacy, not as the means of raising a peculiar body to a higher state of perfection, but as incumbent on every Christian; so that, if all the world were Shakers, the human race would soon be extinct. Yet so salutary is the influence of the religious principle in despite, and perhaps rendered stronger on vulgar minds by the influence of these odd accompaniments, that the Shakers and their kindred sect, the Harmonites, present models of decency, good order, industry, and neatness to a people rather deficient in these useful qualities. The nice arrange-

ment, and the agreeable aspect of their settlements, are never viewed by strangers without admiration, and, amid the slovenly and disorderly habits which prevail in the new settlements, their example might be of the greatest benefit, were it not neutralized by the extreme oddity of their creed and deportment.

The sects who thus carry their fanaticism to the utmost pitch of folly are few in number. A great proportion, however, of those known under the general name of Methodists, present during their public assemblages violent scenes of physical agitation, which are never witnessed in Europe. The discourse of the preacher has an accompaniment from the audience;—screams, convulsions, and even fainting, supposed to indicate the moment of conversion, are sought to be excited during the course of divine service. The female part of the congregation appears on these occasions to act a conspicuous part. Such is the scene described by Mr Fearon, as witnessed in Ebenezer Church, Philadelphia. "The male part of the audience groaned, the female shrieked; a youth standing before me continued for half an hour bawling, 'O Jesus! come down, come down; my dear Jesus, I see you!' &c. A small space farther on, a girl about eleven years of age was in convulsions; an old woman, who I concluded was her mother, stood on the seat, holding her up in her arms, that her ecstacies might be visible to the whole assembly. In another place there was a convocation of holy sisters, sending forth most awful yells.—The madness now became threefold increased, and such a scene presented itself as, I trust, for the honour of true religion,

and of human nature, I never shall see again. From forty to fifty were praying aloud at the same moment; some were kicking, many jumping, all clapping their hands, and crying in chorus, 'Glory, glory, glory!' &c. A girl of six years of age became the next object of attention. A reverend brother proclaimed that she had just received a visit from the Lord, and was in awful convulsions; so hard was the working of the Spirit."

These scenes are exhibited on a greater scale at the camp-meetings in the south. A camp-meeting is announced as to be attended by a number of leading ministers in the Methodist connexion, when presently all the roads, sometimes for a hundred miles round, are covered with travellers on foot, horseback, gigs, or waggons, conveying themselves and families to this grand celebration. The centre of a forest, "deep, dark, lonely, and almost impenetrable," is the theatre usually chosen. The native tenants of the wood being frightened away by the noise and tumult, it is taken possession of by this immense congregation. The horses being tied to the trees, and the waggons ranged in rows along the skirts of the forest, the interior is prepared for the purpose by cutting down the trees, and laying their branches along the ground to be used as seats. The space is railed round; but an inner sanctuary, about thirty feet square, immediately in front of the elevated pulpit, is reserved for those who undergo spiritual awakenings, and feel themselves in the physical throes of conversion. From this circle a hollow sound is emitted even before the sermon begins; but after that period it soon swells

into a complete choir of sounds and movements, shouting, screaming, clapping of hands, leaping, falling, and swooning. Scarcely can the clergyman, notwithstanding his elevated position, and a Stentorian voice strained to the highest pitch, make himself be distinguished above the tumult. The attention of the congregation indeed is intensely fixed on what is going on in the interior circle, though the young females, who are the chief actors, being surrounded by their seniors, are visible only at intervals through the high leaps which they make into the air. As one party fall down exhausted, others supply their place, and the scene is kept up for several days and nights, with only the necessary intervals of rest and food. Mr Flint, who retired to a little distance to view the midnight effect of this scene, thought it peculiarly wild and striking, reminding him of the mystic meetings of unearthly beings, and even of the scene beheld by Tam o' Shanter at Alloa Kirk. The author of "Excursion, &c." who certainly is a severe critic upon this subject, roundly contends, that the antique orgies of the Bacchanalians and the Corybantes combined nothing more absurd and extravagant than is here exhibited; nor does he hesitate to assert, that these meetings, after a certain interval, are followed by a large increase from unexpected quarters in the population of the colony. Without giving too entire credit to this report, the existence of a considerable degree of disorder seems generally admitted, and is proved indeed by the very strict precautions which Mr Flint a few years after found taken for its prevention. The sale of whisky was prohibited,—se-

parate enclosures were assigned to the two sexes,—and sentinels were stationed to prevent the devout ladies from walking out into the woods after dark. It must at the same time be added, that Mr Cooper, who does not seem himself imbued with any extravagant zeal, undertakes with ardour, though not in much detail, the defence of these meetings, which he calls "alike impressive and beautiful," and considers the celebration to be as striking by its peculiar simplicity as it is touching by the interest and evident enjoyment experienced. The disorders, he contends, are merely produced by a few profligate persons, who resort thither as to any other crowd, for the express purpose; and while new and awakened zeal in ignorant persons frequently breaks out in extravagance and folly, these pass away with the exciting cause, and leave behind tender consciences and a chastened practice. We submit these remarks, at the same time suspecting that the unanimous testimony of all British observers must outweigh that of one zealous American advocate, however respectable.

These excesses of fanaticism among the vulgar seem to have led among the higher ranks to an extensive profession of Deism, or of those creeds which consider Christianity only as an exposition of the religion of nature. The former is said to prevail in the south, though a late writer observes, that they have never dared to establish a worship conformable to it. This expression would seem to imply, that forcible means would be taken to put down such a worship, which seems inconsistent with the professed maxims of the American government. It seems more probable, that

the tenets of this class of professors, being, as usual, chiefly negative, they do not feel any such zeal for those which they still retain as to render imperative any outward mode of expressing them. In the north, the most remarkable feature is the extensive prevalence of Unitarianism, especially at Boston, the ancient seat of a faith so opposite. Mr Duncan calculates, that more than half of the churches of Boston are of this profession, and Harvard College, the principal seminary of the United States, is entirely devoted to it. This change, according to Mr Tudor, had been long silently preparing, though it is only within the last fifteen years that it has come forth into open profession. The Unitarians seem to be gaining in the great towns of the south, having recently erected an elegant chapel at Baltimore, at an expense of £20,000.

Among the various forms of worship throughout the States the most prevalent is that called Congregational, which seems to be the same introduced into New England at the first emigration, and which, in 1700, was finally arranged into a system, by what was termed the Saybrook Platform. The service is that of the church of England, cleared of many of the forms which appeared offensive to Puritan simplicity; but the church-government is independent, the clergy holding only synodical meetings for mutual aid on occasions of difficulty. The number of their congregations is stated by Mr Warden at a thousand for New England and two hundred for the other States. The Presbyterians, with a nearly-resembling form of worship, but governed by presbyteries,

synods, and a general assembly, have 772 congregations, chiefly in the Middle and Southern States. Since Mr Warden's time the number of congregations in these two systems appear to have increased, and are estimated by Mr Cooper at nearly three thousand. The Episcopal church is said to be on the increase, and her probationers have been released from the inconvenient necessity of studying in the mother-country. This church, containing at present ten bishops and 394 clergymen, meets in a general convention, consisting of two houses, the upper composed of bishops, the lower of delegates from the inferior clergy and lay members. The Baptists have also many churches, though the members are not numerous. In 1817 their churches were stated at 2727, the members in fellowship at 183,245. The Methodists in 1809 amounted to 159,000, and are supposed to have since increased. The Catholics, who founded Maryland, still occupy it to the number of 75,000, and have not spread wide into any other State. The Lutherans and the German Calvinists have a hundred congregations each, which have sprung out of the large emigrations from Germany. The Dutch Reformed Church has eighty, from a similar origin. The Moravians, the Universalists, the Tunkers, the Dunkers, the Shakers, though they have drawn notice by their peculiar observances, are not in such numbers as to be of national importance. It seems admitted, that these sects in America live, on the whole, in great harmony, and with less of bitterness and intolerance than in the mother-country; which may, no doubt, be much ow-

ing to none of them possessing the invidious distinction of a state-establishment.

The Americans seem to provide temporal things very handsomely for their clergy. There are livings as high as 5000 dollars, (£1100,) with a house and with marriage-fees, which are spontaneous, but liberal. Half that sum is the common living of a respectable clergyman in the large towns. Even in the country it seldom falls short of 1000 dollars, with presents. The clergy are generally diligent in their parochial duties; but, from this very diligence exercised towards large congregations, they have little leisure for profound study, and have not made very large contributions to theological knowledge. The works of Dwight, however, enjoy reputation even in this country. Mr Janson and other profane travellers complain bitterly of the rigid observance of the Sabbath, especially in New England; of travellers being stopped short on the most necessary journeys, and having even been seized and dragged to church by main force. There is, however, something peculiar in the American Sabbatical observance; it begins at sunset on Saturday, and ends at the same period on Sunday; so that Mr Duncan was not a little amazed in spending the latter evening with a strictly religious family, when, after prayer and the reading of a chapter, one of the young ladies was invited to sing "Down the burn, Davie." It seems impossible not to agree with him, that the devotion of one whole day to religious duties is more convenient and more seemly than this mode of dividing it into fragments.

In regard to literature and science, especially all their higher branches, America is still in an infant though progressive and not unpromising state. There are many readers, much printing, but little writing. The government have shown extreme solicitude for the diffusion of the first elements of knowledge,—little for the formation of literary and scientific characters of a high class. Each of the Northern States has a fund for the support of common schools, sufficient to secure the elementary instruction of the whole body of the people; and in the new States there have been reserved 640 acres out of every township, besides an entire township in each State. In the schools, history and geography are taught; and the North American Review, while criticising the qualifications of the teachers, considers them yet decidedly superior to those of Europe. On the whole, elementary knowledge is perhaps as thoroughly diffused in America as in any existing country. There are twenty-five universities in the United States, though to some the name of college or even of academy would be more appropriate. The most eminent and amply endowed is Harvard College, which now calls itself Cambridge. It has eight buildings; the largest of which was finished in 1814, at an expense of £17,000; several others cost five or six thousand. The students, as in the English universities, reside within the walls; but in the variety of objects taught, and the mode of teaching by the lectures of twenty professors, the system rather resembles the Scotch, though with more extensive examinations. At Yale College it is optional to the stu-

dents to live within the edifice or in private houses. The curriculum of study in both is four years; so that, though these universities send out their students with a considerable stock of general information, they do not and cannot produce many profound scholars. The university of Pennsylvania enjoys high reputation as a medical school; yet most of the ambitious students repair to Europe to complete their studies. The number of students at Harvard is usually between three and four hundred; at Yale not quite three hundred. These are thin attendances, and, reckoning the above as the most crowded universities, will not give a very large proportion of Americans receiving the benefits of a university education. Probably there may be as many in the four universities of Scotland as in those of all America.

The authors of America have not hitherto been a subject of boast, even to Americans; yet they are a reading people, and there are said to be few houses, even of the lowest ranks, in which some books are not to be found. The supply of this intellectual want is sought almost exclusively from Britain. There are few whom their situation exempts from the constant pursuit of external accommodations and comforts; and to these a more brilliant and animating field is opened in the numerous public employments, which talent and popularity render accessible to the humblest candidates. Few follow writing as a profession; nor is literary fame attended with such flattering distinctions as to become a promising object. Even the Americans, while they boast of the

superior intellectual character of their countrymen, do not willingly read any books except those which come from Britain. The books themselves, however, are sparingly imported, the works of popular authors, as soon as a copy can reach America, being instantly reprinted in a more frugal form; and the stately quarto and handsome octavo soon appear in humble duodecimo, and are sold at a third, fourth, and even a fifth of the original price. This, however, is not owing to the work being done cheaper; on the contrary, all things being equal, American printing is dearer than British; but the price of the book is not enhanced by copyright, nor are the luxuries of typography necessary to a Transatlantic purchaser. The American bibliopole indeed travels along a smooth path compared to that of his brethren in London and Edinburgh. There are scarcely any risks in his trade. He has not to begin with paying large sums to authors, and before undertaking any work he can form a pretty sure presage of its reception from that which it has found in the mother country. Philadelphia is the main seat of the printing trade, and some works of very great extent, particularly Encyclopædias, do credit to the enterprise of its booksellers. They began in 1790 with the Encyclopædia Britannica, which they followed up since with those of Rees and Brewster. All the works of Sir Walter Scott, with the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, are immediately reprinted.

After all, it cannot be doubted, that America will ere long have a literature of her own, which, as being more adapted to her peculiar character and ideas,

will doubtless be more popular than any imported one. Already this literature is beginning to dawn even in brightness. Irving has taken his place among the most classic writers of Europe; and, what might least have been expected in this young effort of a republican literature, his style is marked by a polish and elegance which few indeed of his Cis-atlantic contemporaries can rival. Cooper, on the other hand, throughout displays that homely roughness which is attached to our idea of American manners. In pictures of elegant and fashionable life he is not always happy; but on the ocean, the forest, or the prairie, he paints the external aspect and movement of nature, not poetically, but with a graphic force and truth which have scarcely been equalled. The North American Review, which issues from Harvard College, has long been conducted with distinguished ability, though Mr Everett, its original editor, has, by one of those counter-influences above noticed, exchanged that station for the career of political life.

The American newspaper press is the most prolific assuredly of any in the world. Mr Warden calculated, in 1817, the number of newspapers at 500, but Mr Cooper does not think they can now fall short of 800. Mr Wright, while travelling in a public coach through the most unfrequented tracts of the State of New York, saw the driver throwing out newspapers on each side among the woods, and was tempted to ask if he had the bears for his customers, but was assured that ere long human tenants from the interior of the wild would find them on the well-known spot. It might have been expected from a people so inquisitive, and

who take so eager an interest in political concerns, that their journals would teem with the same varied information and animated discussion which are so conspicuous in those of the mother-country. On the contrary, we are assured by Mr Fearon, that they are bald and meagre in the extreme; that they embrace neither political disquisition, nor even a report of debates in Congress; that they are filled almost solely with news from Europe, and commercial advertisements. Mr Cooper, without acquiescing in this charge to its fullest extent, does not deny that these newspapers are very inferior in talent to those of the mother-country, and that they confine themselves chiefly to the bare narration of facts. It surprises us, to whom the practice has been so long familiar, to find this writer stigmatizing the reporting of law-proceedings as a licentious abuse of the liberty of the press.

The Americans have shown a genius for painting, which circumstances, hitherto unfavourable, are beginning to develop. Mr Cooper seems rather too modest, when he renounces for his country every claim in respect to West; who, if we mistake not, had made very decided displays of native talent before leaving America, and was sent to Rome by American patronage. In the present day, Leslie, by native force and truth, and Martin, by high poetical conception, have placed themselves on a level with the first artists in Britain; to which, however, they have been obliged to resort for distinction and patronage. The same may be said of Audubon, whose representations of the feathered creation are almost

unrivalled. Yet, by Mr Cooper's statement, it appears that ample remuneration is in some cases given to artists in America. Trumbull, for four national pictures, destined to adorn the great hall of the capital, received 32,000 dollars, (about £7000.) A picture by Alston, a pupil of West, representing "The Hand-writing on the Wall," was purchased in advance by a company of gentlemen for 10,000 dollars. Cole, a landscape-painter, whose merits seem to be a subject of controversy, is said to dispose readily of his cabinet-pieces at from 300 to 1000 dollars. Portrait-painting, however, appears to be the branch which meets with the most regular encouragement, and which is followed by a great majority of the resident American artists.

Dramatic representation has only been of recent origin, and had a hard struggle to maintain before it could find a place. This elegant amusement, rendered often dangerous by its abuses, has always, under this latter view, been an object of severe censure to the more zealous religious sects. When the theatre, about twenty years ago, began to be introduced, many clergymen of different denominations petitioned the legislature that these scenes of public resort should be closed. At Hartford, in Connecticut, and there only, the triumph was complete and final, and the edifice built for this profane purpose was converted into a church. In Boston the contest was long and doubtful; and plays, after being subjected to an interdict, were brought out under the covert title of Lectures and Recitations. The managers announced a "Moral Lecture, the affecting History of Jane Shore,"

and "the entertaining Tale of the Poor Soldier, by the facetious O'Keefe." At length the public taste became too strong to be controlled, and in 1798 the legislature abolished all the laws against theatrical representation. About 1808 a general improvement took place in the embellishment and fitting up of the American houses; actors of merit were invited over from Europe, and fixed in America. That continent has not produced any native performer of high reputation; but Cooper, who has become almost naturalized, is said to be an eminent tragic actor, and several performers of the very first eminence have found a trip to the Western Continent extremely advantageous. For dramatic compositions the Americans are as yet equally dependent on the mother-country. These are imported with the same prompt activity as books, and hold exclusive possession of the American stage. Mr Warden has indeed produced a list of native pieces, for which he claims a certain share of merit; but none of these have reached the Old World, and Cooper does not second him much when he states the American dramatists as none, or next to none. He even modestly imputes this deficiency to a certain baldness in American life, and to a uniformity of character which pervades the people. This may be ascribed in a great measure to the absence of any of those varieties of station and position which are assigned to mankind by the numerous grades of a monarchical and aristocratic society. Yet it seems difficult to suppose that a form of government which gave birth to Aristophanes and Menander can be incompatible with the most vigorous exertion of the

vis comica. If it does not afford these conventional and factitious varieties which arise out of the distinctions of rank and station, a richer vein of humour may be found in the freedom with which each individual gives scope to his peculiar bent and inclination. From this source there has been found a more fertile vein of humour, though perhaps less refined wit, in England than in France. America, however, has not perhaps arrived at the stage when these peculiarities are largely developed. The moderate fortunes and constant occupation of the bulk of her citizens check the rise of individual humours, which generally spring out of wealth, leisure, and ennui.

The language spoken throughout the States, in by far the greater number of instances, originally was and continues to be substantially English. Yet usage, in the absence of any fixed standard, has introduced a considerable variation in the detail. Mr Pickering has composed a vocabulary of words and phrases conceived by him as peculiar to the republic. Some of these, however, as Demoralize, Insurrectionary, Exchangeable (commodities,) though of a somewhat modern character, and not perhaps to be found in Johnson, would not now be rejected by the most fastidious English writers, especially the last, so fully sanctioned by Smith. Others are provincial, and even Scotch expressions, as Knoll, Slush (half-melted snow,) Sappy (juicy.) We cannot say the same as to some pompous political terms, as Gubernatorial, (relating to the election of a governor;) Irrepealability; Declension (for declining of office.) In the course of the life which is led in the west there arise new

processes and new trains of thought, which must find new terms to express them. Thus the "girdling" of trees, being an operation peculiar to the western emigrant, could not have had a term to express it in the old country. The republican pride of America repelling the terms of master and servant, others (such as Boss and Help) must be of necessity substituted. The expression "slangwhanging," which signifies making violent political harangues to the multitude, seems to arise out of the frequency of that species of proceeding. In the course of familiar conversation, however, there seem to have arisen peculiarities which cannot be solved by any of the above theories. The most prominent feature appears to be the applying of the qualifying and conjectural term "I guess," upon all occasions, particularly those on which there exists the most absolute certainty. The citizen of New York goes a step farther, saying "I suspect," while the bolder Virginian says "I reckon." The following dialogue at a tavern-door is given by Mr Palmer, as embracing most of the errors of American familiar speech:—"*Landlord.* You have got two nice creatures,—they are right elegant matches. They cost a heap of dollars,—two hundred I calculate?—*Answer.* Yes, they cost a good sum.—*L. Possible!* going westward to Ohio, gentlemen?—*A.* We are going to Philadelphia.—*L.* Philadelphia, gentlemen! that is a dreadful large place, three or four times as big as Larington.—*A.* Ten times as large.—*L.* Is it by George? what a mighty heap of houses!—but I reckon you was not reared in Philadelphia?—*A.* Philadelphia is not our native place.—*L.* Perhaps away

up in Canada?—*A.* No, we are from England.—*L.* Is it possible? Well, I calculated you were from the old country; you speak almost as good English as we do."

To the above Mr Fearon enables us to add the following post-chaise dialogue, which, while it illustrates American curiosity, contains some additional features of language:

"*Q.* Where are you going, middle on?—*A.* Yes.—*Q.* Do you keep at Boston?—*A.* No.—*Q.* Where do you keep?—*A.* Fairfield.—*Q.* Have you been a lengthy time at Boston, eh! say?—*A.* Seven days.—*Q.* What is your name?—*A.* William Henry I guess.—*Q.* Is your wife alive?—*A.* No, she is dead I guess.—*Q.* Did she die slick right away?—*A.* No, not by any manner of means.—*Q.* How long have you been married?—*A.* Thirty years I guess.—*Q.* What age were you when you were married?—*A.* I guess mighty near thirty-three?—*Q.* If you were young again, I guess you would marry earlier?—*A.* No, I guess thirty-three is a mighty grand age for marrying.—*Q.* How old is your daughter?—*A.* Twenty-five.—*Q.* I guess she would like a husband?—*A.* No, she is mighty careless about that.—*Q.* She is not awful ugly I guess?—*A.* No, I guess she is not.—*Q.* Is your son a trader?—*A.* Yes.—*Q.* Is he his own boss?—*A.* Yes.—*Q.* Are his spirits *kedge* (brisk?)—*A.* Yes, I expect they were yesterday.—*Q.* How did he get into business?—*A.* I planted him there. I was his sponsor for a thousand dollars. I guess he paid me within time, and he is now progressing slick."

Lieutenant de Roos enables us also to make a few addenda. On calling for a lady, he was told that she was "quite prostrated," which, on explanation, proved to be ill in bed. Hearing afterwards a young lady declare she was "all for the commissions," he and his brother officers felt rather flattered, till they were told that this term meant commission-merchants.

The pronunciation of the English language is also modified in a peculiar manner, particularly in New England, otherwise more intelligent than the rest of the States. One blemish consists in uttering a sentence with the most excessive rapidity; in compensation for which they dwell upon the last word at such extraordinary length, that the whole does not consume less than the usual period. The error of the New-Englanders seems to arise partly from pronouncing by book, according to the general and what may be called the natural power of the letters,—an error shared in some degree by well-educated Scotsmen, who avoid their vernacular dialect, without being desirous or capable of speaking what is called "high English." This is the case in regard to the pronunciation of none, nothing, according to the natural power of the *o* instead of *nu*ne, *nu*thing. It is, however, peculiar to the Americans to pronounce the an in *an*gel, *dan*ger, as in the article *an* instead of *ane*; a form, however, to which they are reported strongly to adhere. This defence cannot be urged in favour of making Does *dooze*, or Stone *stun*. Upon the whole, the Bachelor contends, that there is no speaking in America so bad as that of the Cockney and

provincial dialects used by so great a proportion of the English population; that though there are many in England who speak much better, there are a greater number who speak much worse than any American; and that much credit is due to the latter for never having created any of those incomprehensible *patois* which render in Europe the provinces of one kingdom unintelligible to those on which it borders.

The important question now arises, what is the American as a moral and a social being? by what features is he discriminated from Europeans and from the people of his parent country? These are questions beset with many difficulties, and which it requires a nicer tact than most travellers possess to delineate with precision; and much error has been committed in applying these distinctions too hastily and sweepingly, as if they gave not merely a general national colour, but formed a picture of every individual. Yet all experience proves that, along with the greatest diversity among individuals, a certain mental physiognomy pervades all the great masses of mankind, and which a profound investigation may trace as arising out of the peculiar circumstances and situation of each. Yet this too is a process still more arduous and delicate than a mere observation of the actual results.

The American, derived from England, continues to be English in all the external forms of life; but man, the creature of circumstance, when transported to another region and another position, soon undergoes modification from the external causes by which he is surrounded. The Anglo-American is in several

respects differently situated from his ancestor at home. He is the member of a pure and a new republic, in which no distinctions of birth or rank are recognised, nor any difference between one man and another that is not altogether personal. He inhabits a country, the resources of which are much more plentiful than there are people to call forth and enjoy. The necessaries of life are amply placed within the reach of the humblest citizens. Men are scarce, and their labour is eagerly sought, highly paid, and can with difficulty be obtained. The humblest individual, therefore, feels in an extreme degree that proud independence of all others, a more moderate degree of which characterizes the Englishman among the other nations of Europe. In America there are few of great and almost none of hereditary wealth; all the arts and elegances of life are in an infant state; and man earns its comforts easily and abundantly, yet by a struggle with nature in a rude and unsubdued form. In this respect also the different parts of America are more distinguished from each other than the provinces of an European country. The great cities studiously copy the polish of Europe, in whose footsteps they are rapidly treading; while the inhabitants of the country, being very widely scattered, even when in easy circumstances, lead an insulated, solitary, and rustic existence; and the inhabitants of the western border, only partially subject to the order of civil life, partake often the nature of the outlaw and the bandit, and sometimes even that of the Indian savage.

The difficulty of forming a proper estimate of

American character is much heightened by another circumstance. Her social, in connexion with her political character, has become a grand debatable point among contending parties. Even among those who went out the most enthusiastic admirers of her institutions there have been some unfortunate circumstances for America. With these persons there for some time prevailed the belief, that a republican constitution was to be the final remedy for all the evils under which mankind had for ages groaned, and that, escaping from all the straits and difficulties in which they were involved at home, they were going out to an Elysian world of plenty and felicity. The possession of a large extent of fertile soil, which would convert them and their posterity into great landholders, appeared to be a complete exaltation in the scale of society. They had not long landed on the western shore when all these splendid visions departed. The Americans and American society were found amply to partake of the frailty of our fallen nature; the land was covered with impenetrable forests, distant from any market, and improveable only by years of unassisted labour. All the polish of society, all the ornaments and elegances of life, were only in their first dawn, and in these vast and savage solitudes the idea of home soon regained its empire; many, after spending the greatest part of their little capital in this western adventure, were fain to return with the remnant to their once despised England. They returned of course in the very worst possible humour with every thing and almost every person they had seen in America. Reversing the

career of the prophet of Midian, they went out to bless, and returned to curse; and while they did well in dispelling from the minds of their countrymen the extravagant illusions under which so many had been seduced from comfortable situations at home, they contributed in some degree to spread the contrary error, and to make America be viewed as the centre of all that was rude, revolting, and disagreeable. For these reasons the weight of English testimony is rather against America, and must be qualified by the somewhat boasting testimony of native writers.

An immeasurable value for the great political system, of which they are members, appears to be the ruling passion of the Americans. They seem to have forgotten or renounced every tie which bound them to their parent country, and view it now only as a proud and domineering rival: all their feelings of country centre in the Union. This attachment is most especially displayed by the most lofty and unbounded panegyrics upon it and every thing American. National vanity and extravagant boasting are admitted even by sensible men among themselves to be national failings. The well-informed build on solid grounds,—the exertions of the nation in the cause of independence,—its rapid growth and sure prospects of almost indefinite extension,—its active commerce, and the great recent internal improvements. The less informed classes boast not of these particulars only, but of others to which the claims of the nation are most equivocal. Mr Hodgson, allowed to be a candid observer, conceives that it would not be at all surprising to hear them boasting that America

was not only the greatest but the oldest country in the world. Every day, according to Mr Flint, you hear persons boasting of American courage and intelligence, whose claim to these qualities is at least very doubtful. Yet it seems going much too far to say with Mr Faux, that while they boast eternally, nothing good or new is ever done in the country, unless by foreigners, and chiefly by their rivals, the English. The Americans have done much that is both good and new, and that we in the east have wisely copied; at the same time it is not amiss that they should suffer taunts, as they do occasionally, lest the cheap mode of gratifying national vanity by mere boasting should become too prevalent.

While the Americans are thus ardently attached to their native government and institutions, their legislature opens wide the door to *immigrants*, as they are termed, from every nation and country, admitting them on easy terms to the full privileges of a citizen. Whether this statute is sanctioned by the spirit and feelings of the people, without which it must be in a great measure inoperative, is a point on which very contrary statements are given. Mr Flint declares, that he experienced on this point the greatest liberality, and never found any invidious distinction made on account of his being a foreigner. Mr Fearon, on the contrary, assures us, that the line drawn between citizens of native and foreign birth is strong; and that the principle of excluding the latter out of all offices, from the highest to the lowest, has a firm hold on the mind of the Americans, who even hold in derision what might have been supposed the strongest passport to

their favour,—expatriation on account of republican tenets. To back these allegations, Mr Fearon has produced a document, drawn up in 1809 by five hundred adopted citizens of New York; in which they complain, that, after having renounced their native country, complied with every requisition of the laws, and been regularly admitted as citizens, they continued still to be "treated as aliens, stigmatized as foreigners;" that "no zeal, no exertions, no services, however disinterested, unremitted, or great," had been sufficient to shield them from this reproach. It is difficult to say how we can decide this question. Mr Cooper admits that a large proportion of the duels are between English and Americans. Yet it does not appear that travellers and emigrants, even of the most discontented class, complain that the being foreigners stands much in their way, or is the source of their greatest grievances. Perhaps it may be only when rivalry and the contest for office arises that this circumstance is brought so prominently forward.

That high sense of personal freedom, which every moment fills the breast of an American, has variously affected different observers. Some represent it as rendering him a lofty, open, frank, and generous being; others as surly, sulky, selfish, and gloomy. Probably, as the nature is noble or base, the same principle may turn it into different and even opposite directions. The principle of equal rights, however, seems extended to cases where its application is somewhat inconvenient. Servants can be induced to enter into that station only with great reluctance and at high wages, and even then cannot without the most

deadly offence be called servants. They are only helps, and their master and mistress must on no account be named as such. They work when and how they please, and take their departure on the slightest offence. Mr Birkbeck himself exhorts even the rich emigrant to make up his mind to do without servants, and rather to import from Europe some machinery which may supply their place; but we doubt if the mechanical arts are yet carried to such perfection. If tradesmen are brought in to do any work in the house, they must sit and eat with the family, otherwise they depart in high indignation. Even children must share in this universal freedom, and must not be chastized either in the family or at school, where they form often very tumultuous little republics. The applications of this principle are alleged to be sometimes still more irregular and perilous. "Liberty," says Mr Faux, "here means to do each as he pleases, to care for nothing and nobody, and cheat every body. My garden," he says, "cost me this summer fifty dollars, and all the produce was stolen by boys and young men, who professed to think they had the liberty to do so." A set of youths having stolen some sheep, thought it not necessary to assign any reason, but that they found it easier to take than to rear them; but could they have been brought before a border court, this plea, we presume, would not have been sustained.

Amid this republican equality, the love of titles seems to have apparently a strong hold on the human mind, and displays itself to an extent which renders them more common than in Europe. The use of

Esquire to gentlemen, Honourable to members of Congress and public officers, Excellency to governors, causes every public meeting to be crowded with these titles. Others, which are despised or declined in Europe, adhere closely in America. The shopkeeper or mechanic, who has combined with his trade a commission in the militia, continues, as formerly observed, major or colonel not only during its tenure, but for the rest of his life. The same is the case with the civil functions of Judge, Magistrate, and even the ecclesiastical one of Deacon. In regard to the titles of *Mr* and *Mrs*, equality is maintained, not by their disuse, but by applying them equally to all, even labourers and beggars: they cease thus to form any distinction; but it should seem more consistent with republican views to withdraw them altogether, than to nullify them by this universal application. Indeed it is asserted by the Bachelor, that this profusion of titles is beginning in the highest orders not to be considered as *en bon ton*, and that those who esteem themselves masters of etiquette have begun to address even the Secretaries of State as plain Mr ———. It may be admitted, that in country towns and less polished societies in this country, this giving of titles is apt to prevail sometimes even in opposition to the wish of the holder, and degenerating into nickname.

The Americans, we suppose, are, beyond all doubt, a pugnacious race. On this subject, their warmest advocates can only say, that, according to the usual practice of mankind, many stories are told of them that are either without or beyond the truth. The prac-

tice of duelling had been supposed to belong essentially to the aristocratic and polished society of modern Europe,—a dark and fierce guardian of feudal pride,—a necessary security to the high polish of the court and fashionable life. It was unknown to the republics of antiquity, and was supposed to have nothing in common with the genius of republican government. All this, however, the Americans have fully refuted, by transporting it among themselves, and carrying it on upon a greater scale than in any European people. Mr Cooper admits, that over a great part of America the proportion may be as four to one. They make it, moreover, a much more serious and deadly matter than we do. When a Briton goes out, it is under a supposed heavy necessity of vindicating his honour, and if matters can be so adjusted, that, without breach of the supposed laws of honour, both parties return from the field safe and sound, both probably esteem this a desirable consummation; but the American goes forth with a darker and more deadly purpose. His object is execution. He comes in disappointed if he has not killed his man, or at least inflicted a wound little short of mortal. With this view, there has been even a partial introduction of the use of the rifle. Mr Cooper boasts of this train of thinking as the result of the common sense of his countrymen, to whom it occurs as absurd to go out and shoot at a man without wishing to kill him. But if the thing be evil, it appears to us, that the less people are in earnest about it, so much the better. The courtesies

with which the duel is accompanied in Europe, the laws which honour has affixed to it, and the frequent absence of personal enmity, mitigate beyond a doubt its ferocious character, and pave the way for its gradual disuse.

The lower ranks, especially in the south, have other and ruder modes of settling their contests and manifesting their prowess. The English are noted in Europe as a pugilistic nation; but, in our realms of the fancy, rules and maxims have been introduced which render boxing and cuffing little more than a civil game, but which are unknown in the combats of the western world. There, when the battle is joined, every limb and every member is employed with the most intense fury in inflicting the utmost possible damage on the adversary. The feet are placed in equally active requisition with the fists; and other instruments, unknown in the annals of Cis-atlantic combat, appear on the field. The teeth are called forth to tear the visage of the hated opponent, and even to bite off the point of his nose, or a bit of his ear. Mr Janson records an individual who carefully sharpened his teeth with a file to improve their efficiency on these critical occasions. But the most dreadful outrage, and that which America can boast of as wholly her own, is *gouging*; in which, by a dexterous application of the finger and thumb, an eye is scooped out, and exhibited in triumph to the admiring spectators. My researches really do not exhibit very precisely the actual state of gouging in America. Of course, from the first, its extent was

exaggerated; for we can never listen to the hearsay report of Mr Weld, that in Georgia every fourth man had only one eye. The Bachelor declares that nothing of the kind ever met his own observation, and that he is obliged to believe in the existence of such a thing only because so much could never have been said of it without some foundation. Fearon and other writers unfavourable to America profess their belief that it still survives, and yet I have not met with any recent traveller who says, that he ever either saw the process or a man that had been gouged. It seems no great stretch of charity then to believe that this blot on the American name is approaching to its extinction. Mr Fearon severely criticizes a practice called gander-pulling. An unhappy goose is tied to a pole, when a number of persons riding past full speed, each endeavours to twist its neck, and he who succeeds is declared victor. Nothing can be said in favour of the practice; and yet the writer of this is obliged to confess, that in his boyhood he witnessed annually the self-same exhibition at a rustic festival not thirty miles distant from the enlightened metropolis of Scotland.

The Americans boast that they are not drunkards; and this is true to the extent that they are scarcely ever to be observed dead drunk. If any one is seen extended in this humiliating condition, he proves usually to be some luckless Irishman. Yet a traveller has put down the statistical fact, that of two equal numbers, Americans and English, a greater quantity of liquor is drank by the former than by the latter. If few or none are ever very drunk,

many are constantly 'half and half.' There is little social drinking; they do not sit and talk over their cups, nor do the taverns resound with riotous mirth. They have the greater fault of drinking at all hours, beginning with a morning cup of spirits seasoned with rice, bitters, or other condiment, called an eye-opener or phlegm-disperser. Dram-shops abound in the towns; and the inns have a corner in which the materials of grog are lodged, ready to be served to all comers. According to Mr Janson, the taker of a morning-draught in Virginia is called a slinger, while another taking one at eleven is called an elevener. When both these unfortunate habits meet in the same person, his constitution falls a speedy sacrifice.

Henceforth we shall have only venial faults to put on record against the Americans. Of these the most famous is their unbounded and unceremonious desire to know even the most minute particulars respecting even the most perfect stranger whom chance presents to them. Curiosity respecting the concerns of others is indeed an active principle in all remote situations and among the less cultivated societies; but why should Americans carry it so very much farther than any other race? It may be, that the general equality obliterates those distinctions which elsewhere confine men's interest more within a particular circle, and establishes with others barriers of ceremony and etiquette. The inquisition thus established may also be considered as an application of the general principle of liberty. Though not confined to the remote districts, it seems there more intense and still less

ceremonious. Mr Weld complains, that in the recesses of the Alleghany, he was often stopped in so abrupt a manner as made him imagine that he was attacked by a highwayman; but the only object proved to be that of gratifying curiosity by a string of interrogatories. Dr Franklin saved himself by the well-known plan of affixing to his person a placard, whereon was written,—"I am Benjamin Franklin; I am a printer; I have a wife and five children; I come from Philadelphia; I am going to New York." Mr Hodgson gives the following as a pretty fair specimen of what passes when an attempt is made to repress these eager inquiries without giving offence:—

"I reckon, sir, you do not belong to these parts?—No, sir, I am not from the North.—You are come a long way I guess?—No, not so very far; we have travelled a few hundred miles since we turned our faces westward.—I guess you have seen Mr ———, or General ———?—I have not the pleasure of knowing any," or "I know all," equally defeats his hopes.—"I reckon there has been a good crop of cotton?—Yes, sir, I understand the crops are abundant.—You grow tobacco then I guess?—No, I do not grow tobacco." His courage rises with his difficulties. "I hope no offence; I guess, sir, you are from the old country?" It must be observed, that it does not meantime appear that Americans themselves are so much annoyed by this curiosity, or reluctant to gratify it. Indeed it is observed by Mr Flint, that there is a much more ready communication and intimate mixing of all classes than in Europe. The mutual civilities exchanged on the road or in taverns, and the readi-

ness with which strangers converse together, appear surprising to British reserve. This certainly gives an opening for persons whom there would be good grounds for excluding, to thrust themselves into the society of those with whom they come into contact. Founding on the principle that this is a land of liberty, they will even violate obvious rules of decorum, such as approaching and listening while two persons are conversing or doing business together.

It seems fully admitted, even by their best friends, that the Americans are not an excessively agreeable people. Coldness, generally charged against them, is admitted by Mr Cooper almost to its full extent, though he thinks it should rather be called a subdued manner; yet, according to Mr Hodgson, it amounts often to the "cut direct." It is asserted, however, and seems admitted, that this chilling outward demeanour is not the index of any want of real kindness. An appeal is made to those who have been the inmates of an American house, whether they have not experienced in fact the same regular course of friendly attentions which in Europe are combined with the most lavish politeness. Still it must be admitted, that those sweet courtesies of life, which "make the road of it so smooth," are often, from their frequent occurrence, felt as conducing more to its happiness than more solid benefits. A time, however, comes, when the barrier of American reserve is broken down, and this country is found to contain interesting, agreeable, and warm-hearted persons, in the same proportion as any other.

It must conduce very little to the polish of Ame-

rican society that the two sexes are little intermingled. The women are naturally modest, feminine, faithful to the duties of the wife and the mother; but their minds, little enlarged by knowledge or intercourse with the world, do not afford large materials for general conversation. A certain interval of frank and innocent gaiety reigns between the very young of both sexes; but this is soon terminated by those early marriages common in America, and the lively *belle* is plunged into the cares and duties of a household and family. Even Miss Wright, the general admirer of every thing American, demurs to the general applause bestowed on matches thus contracted by mere children, whose character is not yet formed, and who cannot estimate the importance of the duties prematurely devolved upon them. Hence, in general companies, conversation rests in a great measure with the men, and with them turns mainly upon politics, which are treated of in lengthy discussions and stout arguments, such as, even when not combined, as they too often are, with a good deal of roughness, must be extremely adverse to the ease and variety of social intercourse. Mr Flint complains of swearing as very prevalent, declaring that he had heard twice as much of it since he crossed the Atlantic as during his whole previous life; but this we should suppose is confined to the Southern States, and to the western border; it seems inconsistent with the character of New England, and other States founded upon a religious basis.

Already it has appeared, that in earlier stages of American progress, hospitality was practised with a liberal and almost unbounded profusion. Although

changes in the mode of living, and the general establishment of inns, have rendered the claims in it less frequent, it continues still to be a conspicuous American virtue. A stranger coming with any tolerable introduction, or even able to name a common friend, is received with the most cordial welcome, and furnished with a series of effective recommendations. In many instances even the experiment upon the hospitality of an absolute stranger would not be very hazardous.

The arrangements and modes of travelling in America have of course formed an interesting subject to the numerous recent travellers, who have made us well acquainted with this branch of western economy. There is one point on which it seems to merit high and unqualified praise. Steam-sailing is an invention which, with all our patriotism, and with every respect for our ingenious countrymen who have traced the principle and made partial applications of it, we hesitate not in allowing to America the whole merit of bringing into extensive and important use. This most valuable improvement, by which the rapid river, or the variable frith, may be traversed with the same precision as the smoothest high road, and a man may cross a continent with almost as little of toil as when sitting in his elbow-chair, has been actively adopted and extended in Britain, whence it is spreading over Europe; yet the steam-vessels of America seem still to be superb and commodious beyond any which navigate the streams and seas of the eastern part of the globe. Those which convey passengers up the Hudson, and across the lakes of

Erie and Ontario, are described almost as moving palaces. In consequence, indeed, of the immense extent of the river-courses of America, steam-navigation has become for her the grand instrument of interior communication. Through it the great and immensely increasing surplus produce of the great western valley is conveyed down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Its introduction for this purpose is recent, and, according to Judge Hall, has effected a moral change of the most beneficial nature on this western region. The boatmen on the Ohio and Mississippi, as indeed Mr Birkbeck had already apprised us, were a fearful nuisance. They formed a band placed almost beyond every pale of law or restraint; wherever they landed they committed the most dreadful outrages and robberies, and kept the whole country in a state of alarm. But the proprietors of steam-vessels are persons of property and respectability; those who navigate them are few in number, of a superior class, and, passing swiftly up and down, do not make those frequent landings which are perhaps the cause, if it be as Mr Birkbeck alleges, that inland-sailors are of a worse character than those employed in ploughing the deep. The arrangements for land-travelling are by no means so commodious. The American stage-coach is a long machine capable of holding twelve passengers, open in front and at the sides, and having a roof supported by posts, the intervals of which indeed are hung with leather curtains; but these coverings being often not in a very flourishing state, afford only an imperfect exclusion to cold and wet. The carriage is seldom hung on

springs, and though drawn by four good horses, makes its way so slowly through the rugged roads of the interior, that the impatient traveller often prefers walking as equally expeditious. In an inferior style, the common waggon for goods, consisting of a long cart drawn by two horses abreast, by having two chairs placed in it, is converted into the stage-waggon,—a rude conveyance, which causes severe suffering to the unfortunate traveller who employs it for the conveyance of his person.

American inns form another subject, which of course is much observed and commented on by travellers. The Bachelor indeed deprecates all discussion upon this subject, and insists, that, after the completion of so grand a work as the Erie canal, these and all minor blemishes in American economy ought to be buried in oblivion. A good canal, however, is one thing and a good inn is another; and though the first be of much greater national importance, it does not supersede the utility of having the other also arranged on a judicious and commodious footing. The American taverns possess in some respects a more imposing character than those of the mother-country. The innkeepers generally rank higher in the scale of society. They bear often the titles of Captain, Major, and even Colonel; they are Justices of the Peace, or Members of the Provincial Legislature; they hold probably a wide extent of landed property around their tenement. In consequence also of the great system of emigration, travelling, and adventure, which goes on throughout the United States, they are sure of constant and even crowded employ-

ment. But these very circumstances, which might be expected to elevate the character of American taverns, are perhaps the causes of their defective accommodations. In Europe, whenever a party enters an inn, every thing within it must be disposed with a view to their convenience; they become for the time its masters; all other interests must yield to theirs. But in an American inn, the comfort and accommodation of the waiter and mistress is the primary object; that of the guests stands only in the second place. Of that *empressement* with which an arrival of consequence is received in a European hotel, there is not the slightest vestige. Even Miss Wright, disposed on every occasion to praise America, admits mortification at the total want of any sensation on such an occasion. On the question being put if the party can have dinner or lodging, the master or mistress usually replies, "I guess so," without looking up or making any pause in their employment. Accommodations which with us are considered indispensable, are not so viewed on the other side of the Atlantic. A guest cannot have a collation, even slight, when he wishes or calls for it,—he must wait the regular hours of the table d'hote. It is not considered irregular to assign one bed to two guests who are entire strangers to each other; nor, in case of exigency, is there much scruple of introducing a third.

Another feature peculiar to American hostelry consists in obliterating all those divisions which take place elsewhere in this department of labour. No distinction is recognised between tavern, hotel, and

ordinary. At the common table, dine not only all comers, but all who lodge in the house, and a number of persons in the town who keep no private establishment. The company, therefore, often muster to the number of forty or fifty. The table groans with costly piles of substantial viands of good quality, and tolerably though not nicely cooked. The breakfast consists of a similar display of meat, fowl, and fish, as the dinner, with only the addition of tea or coffee; but pies and puddings begin to be viewed as uncouth and antiquated. The evening meal, whether it be held as tea or supper, is only a repetition of the breakfast. Each of those occasions is announced by two successive bells, the last of which produces an extraordinary rush. The whole company are soon seated, and begin to despatch the victuals with a rapidity of which there is no example in our eastern world,—all then rise and depart. Fearon felt rather disconsolate, when, before he had finished the first cup, he saw the room nearly empty. M. De Roos especially laments the necessity either to bolt or starve, in consequence of the ravenous avidity with which the dishes are made to disappear. Yet his observations were limited to the Eastern States, while Mr Hodgson assures us that this speed always augments in proceeding westward; so that the duration of a meal may be measured upon the degrees of the meridian. That, which in New York lasts a quarter of an hour, is reduced on the Mississippi to five or six minutes.

The Americans are certainly an enterprising and moving people, who will go to the ends of the earth

to compass their purposes. To journey from one extremity to the opposite of their vast domain appears to them less than with us to go from one county to another. Attached as they are to their community, they scarcely attach the idea of home to one spot above another within its vast limits. The American will, without hesitation, leave his birth-place to occupy a piece of land a thousand miles distant; and, after having with great labour brought it into some shape and cultivation, will, upon any promise of advantage, migrate without hesitation to another equally remote. In forming these new settlements he displays the utmost activity, and fells the mighty trees of the western forest with an energy of which the European settler is rarely capable.

Amid all this stir and exertion, it is rather curious to hear him branded by our migrating farmers with the reproach of excessive laziness. Mr Birkbeck, whose unfavourable report may be believed, hesitates not to consider indolence as the besetting sin of America. He found it indeed in its highest perfection among the Indians, and diminishing with the progress of settlement, but nowhere thoroughly rooted out. They made even a boast of it as characteristic of a land of freedom, saying, "You English are indeed very industrious, but we enjoy freedom." Thus they proudly left themselves surrounded with nuisances and petty wants, which a little pains would have removed, and whiled away life in a state of yawning lassitude. Mr Fearon indeed complains of the mode of killing time at an American tavern as the most senseless and comfortless he had ever witnessed.

Even in New York, he remarked on the surface of society a carelessness, a laziness, an unsocial indifference. Shopkeepers, with their hats on, lying along the counters smoking segars, presented a singular spectacle to an English eye. In the west, where these habits reign with the most unlimited sway, they seem fairly enough ascribed to the facility of acquiring the necessaries of life, the want of any society before which to display its elegances, and of any liberal pursuits to amuse its leisure. These habits of daily indolence, however, are not only compatible, but are usually combined with the most brisk displays of enterprise and activity, when a great occasion calls them forth. The savage, the hunter, and the new settler, usually present this combination.

This absence of regular and daily activity is perhaps the cause that the neatness and cleanliness in which the industrious and free nations of the English and Dutch place so much pride are not here conspicuous. America, as Mr Birkbeck observes, was bred in a cabin, and she has only partially laid aside her cabin-arrangements. In the cities, indeed, the houses are handsome, and even more spacious than those occupied by persons of the same rank in Europe. But in receding to the westward and the newly-settled regions, rude wooden fabrics pass gradually into the log-house, which not unfrequently merits even the appellation of dog-hole. These "rudiments of houses" are formed of roughly-cut trunks of trees, put together so as to form one or two apartments. No windows are required, the chinks left between the timbers admitting an ample

supply both of air and light. Similar apertures serve for the escape of the smoke; or, if something like a chimney be constructed, it is often necessary to close in the top with a board, lest the rain should put out the fire. Chairs and tables are supplied by blocks of wood framed into something like the suitable form. One such apartment serves often to a family of ten for parlour, kitchen, hall, bed-room, and pantry. Such rude arrangements may be necessary in the opening of a settlement, but they seem often to grow into habit, and to satisfy the planter, after he might have leisure and means to supply himself in a much more sufficient manner. The same habits are apt to make the necessity no longer felt of shaving, washing the face and hands, and other arrangements of personal cleanliness. There are few to observe the want of these, and those few not unlikely to keep the failure in countenance. Indeed the above authorities very roundly charge the Americans with a want of cleanliness, both in person, floor, and furniture. Mr Faux asserts, with evidently too much asperity, that there is nothing clean in America but wild beasts and birds. The habit of spitting without regard to time, place, or circumstance, so far prevails, that even the ornamented floor of the National-Hall at Washington does not enjoy a protection. It may be observed, that though this practice be laudably banished from every thing like refined English society, it is said to be by no means so generally disused among even the polished nations of the continent.

American society is not subdivided to nearly the

same extent as that of Europe; yet Mr Hodgson distinguishes three classes. The first consists of the remnant of the revolutionary heroes, gentlemen of the old school, whose manners were formed on those of England and by intercourse with the best English society. This class, however, are too few, and too fast dying out, to give any tone to the existing society. The second class consists of the *novi homines*, the leading men of the present day, those at the head of the liberal professions, legislators, and high functionaries of government. These do not possess the same polished manners, regular and classical education, as the same class in England. Their intellect, however, is as actively exercised and their information as general, and they may be considered generally as rising in the scale of intelligence. The third class are little farmers, shopkeepers, clerks, and the better class of mechanics, who are considered by Mr Hodgson as decidedly superior to the same class in Britain. They have more regular habits of reading, a wider range of ideas, a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and vulgarity. The lower orders in general appear to be more intelligent, and to have less both of rusticity and vulgarity in their manners and ideas, than generally falls to their lot in the old world.

Another strongly-marked distinction exists between the Southern and the Northern Americans. The two extremes are formed by the New Englanders and the Virginians. The former are certainly the more respectable. They are industrious, frugal,

enterprising, regular in their habits, pure in their manners, and strongly impressed with sentiments of religion. Though strongly attached to home and to domestic life, they are spread over all the four corners of the Union, and everywhere in a flourishing state. The name Yankee, which we apply as one of reproach and derision to Americans in general, is assumed by them as their natural and appropriate denomination. It is a common proverb in America, that a Yankee will live where another would starve. Their very prosperity, however, with a certain reserve in their character, and supposed steady attention to small gains, renders them not excessively popular with those among whom they settle. They are charged, it seems, with a peculiar species of finesse, called "Yankee tricks;" and the character of being "up to every thing" is applied to them, we know not exactly how, in a sense of reproach. The Virginian planter, on the contrary, is lax in principle, destitute of industry, eager in the pursuit of rough pleasures, and demoralized by the system of negro slavery, which exists in almost a West Indian form. Yet with all the Americans who attempt to draw the parallel, he seems rather the favourite. He is frank, open-hearted, and exercising a princely hospitality. Both Cooper and Judge Hall report him as a complete gentleman; by which they evidently mean, not the finished courtier, but the English country gentleman or squire, though the opening afforded by the political constitution of his country causes him to cultivate his mind more by reading and inquiry. A large proportion of the most emi-

nent and ruling statesmen in America—Washington, Jefferson, Madison—were Virginians. Surrounded from their infancy with ease and wealth, accustomed to despise and to see despised money on a small scale, and no laborious exertions made for its attainment, they imbibe from youth the habits and ideas of the higher classes. Luxurious living, gaming, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and other rough and turbulent amusements, absorb a great portion of their life. Although therefore the leisure enjoyed by them, when well improved, may have produced some very elevated and accomplished characters, they cannot, taken at the highest, be considered so respectable a class as their somewhat despised northern brethren; and the lower ranks are decidedly in a state of comparative moral debasement.

A third division of the American people may be considered as formed by the border-residents, who pass insensibly from the more densely-peopled and regularly-organized districts of the Union to those boundless deserts which remain still in the almost undisturbed possession of the Indian savage. Man, though capable of high culture and civilization, is originally and naturally a savage; and whenever the causes which raised him higher are withdrawn or suspended, he has a strong tendency to relapse into this his original condition. The occupations of the savage are the favourite amusements of those in civilized life, whom wealth enables to dispose of their time and pursuits. The farmer and the manufacturer, even when they go to a new region as a favourable theatre for the exercise of these functions,

can with difficulty resist the opportunity of transforming themselves into the wanderer and the hunter. Some, in this life of wild and roaming adventure, may attain a rude grandeur of character and even an intelligence unknown to the peasant employed in a round of mechanical occupation; but a great proportion become a lawless and licentious race, whose acquaintance with civilized life only renders them worse than the savage. They have not, like him, any antique and venerated maxims to rule their conduct, nor any of those warm attachments of kindred and tribe, which throw a lustre even on his crimes. This demi-outlaw race, however, of backwoodsmen, squatters, trappers, &c., are gradually driven before the advancing tide of dense emigration. Yet those who succeed them, removed from the examples and influences of civilized life, soon undergo a certain barbarizing process; all the functions of life are performed in a ruder and coarser manner. To them especially seems to apply the charge made by Weld and Birkbeck against the Americans in general, that they have not even an idea of the beautiful in art and nature; and that taste is a term as strange to their language as comfort is to that of the French. Elegant, indeed, is a word almost constantly in their mouths, but under an import diametrically opposite to that which it bears in England; here it applies only to solid and substantial merits; an elegant mill, an elegant tan-yard, an elegant road, &c. There are of course various gradations of civility and rudeness in proportion as these districts recede from the central seats of civilization; and as

culture and population increase, a gradual improvement takes place; while each town, as it rises into importance, studiously seeks to form itself on the model of the great capitals.

The cities of America are in so rapid a state of change and progress, that it is difficult to arrest and catch their features. Since 1790, New York has increased from 33,000 to 200,000; Philadelphia from 43,000 to 150,000; Baltimore from 13,000 to 70,000. Their wealth has increased in a still greater proportion; and there has taken place a progressive change in the habits of life and the whole fabric of society. The aspect of the buildings is entirely altered; the rude wooden tenements, of which they in a great measure consisted, have been succeeded by streets as broad and regular, and mansions as spacious and handsome, as are to be found in most European cities; while their public edifices rival the classic elegance of those of the old world. This rapid growth has been produced under the influence of circumstances, and the ample scope afforded by the capacities of so great an unoccupied region. There is only one case in which the extension of a city was planned and eagerly desired by the national government, and in which it has not taken place,—this is Washington,

It was in 1800, that Washington was fixed as the seat of government and the destined metropolis of America. The situation appeared promising. It was placed on the Potowmack at its junction with the Chesapeake, the finest of all the Atlantic bays, and so far down that it could be reached by large

vessels. Associations aided by government had previously improved the navigation of the Potowmack, so that by it and its tributary, the Shenandoah, the produce of a large tract of territory was brought down. The river and bay together form a bend, enclosing a peninsula, upon which the plan of Washington was delineated. A space of four miles and a half long and two broad was regularly divided into streets, squares, and avenues. The streets cross each other at right angles, in the direction of the cardinal points; but, to avoid the mechanical sameness, which these regular lines would occasion, the avenues which are to form the most splendid part of the city, intersect them diagonally, and produce thus a constant variety. The avenues are fixed at 130 to 140 feet wide, and the streets at from 80 to 100. At the places where the avenues cross each other, spacious squares are appointed to be formed. Nothing, in short, is wanting to make Washington the most magnificent city in the world, but that it should exist; this, however, is a good fortune which has as yet only very impartially befallen it. In vain has government sought to render it the centre of the commerce of the Chesapeake; this commerce has rapidly raised Baltimore from a village to a city of the first magnitude, while Washington labours under a slow growth which in America almost suggests the idea of decay. Accordingly the value of the sites has materially fallen; and property which, in 1802, had brought 200,000 dollars, has been sold for 25,000. Unfortunately, too, while the whole city was at once laid out, the citizens have enjoyed the republican li-

berty of beginning at any part of it which might suit the fancy of each. Instead of forming in the first instance, a compact circle round the government-edifices, and gradually extending it, they have, without any motive or convenience that can be discovered, begun in different and distant quarters, raising straggling groups of from two to twelve houses; so that, instead of the elegance and regularity which Washington presents upon paper, it displays in its reality a complete chaos. The stranger walks through a desert, in the midst of which he lights upon a palace. The desert is the heart of Washington, and the palace is the capital.—A crisis took place in the existence of Washington, through the somewhat barbarous conflagration made by the British when they penetrated thither under General Ross. It had before been under consideration to transfer the seat of government to another more fortunate spot, and after the above catastrophe, this came still more seriously into question; but the national pride was roused, and it was determined to rebuild the fallen structures on a more splendid scale than ever. The duration of Washington as the capital appearing then to be fixed, people resorted to it in greater numbers, and the ground experienced some rise in value. The Capitol and the President's house are in the course of becoming very splendid structures. Of the former only two wings have as yet been erected, but the centre is in progress. The interior is to be adorned with twenty-two Corinthian columns, the capitals of which are to be composed of white marble, fashioned in Italy, while the shafts consist of pebbles of various

colours and sizes, and admitting of a high polish, which are found on the banks of the Potowmack. It seems questionable what effect will result from the combination of these rather dissimilar materials.

After somewhat mature consideration, there appears room to question what grounds the Americans really have for this deep mortification at not being able to make Washington a great metropolis? Perhaps it is rather a benefit. In European representative assemblies the aristocratic interest is usually very prominent, in which case it is often eligible that they should feel, and be in some degree influenced, and even overawed, by the movements of a great metropolis, in which there is usually a large infusion of a popular spirit; but in an assembly, that is radically and thoroughly popular, there can be no room for its being too little acted upon by the national spirit, and the danger may be, if exposed to the impulses which agitate a crowded metropolis, that it should be unable to proceed with the requisite independence and dignity. It was evidently by the impulse of the mob that the French National Assembly and Convention were hurried into those violent and fatal measures which rendered their political change so calamitous. It may, therefore, be very advantageous that the Congress, a body so essentially popular, should assemble in a scene of dignified retirement, exempt from any influence except what arises from the deliberate judgment of their constituents. It is thus that they are most likely to acquire a character of their own, and follow a steady and systematic career.

But it is urged that Washington, from its very

situation, can never be more than a temporary capital, having been chosen, with reference to the Union as composed solely of the Eastern and Atlantic States, not to that mighty empire which is destined to reach to the Rocky Mountains, and even to the Pacific. The centre of such an empire must be on the Mississippi; the village of St Louis on the Missouri therefore is already putting in its claim to be the future capital of America. Perhaps there is as little ground also for this objection as the other. We nowhere find, in the great kingdoms of the old world, that it is considered necessary, or even eligible, that the capital should be placed in the geographical centre of the territory. Neither London, nor Paris, nor Pekin, nor Petersburgh, though this last was created on the very ground of its position, have been placed upon this principle. They are all either upon, or a little within the frontier. The reason will appear obvious on a little consideration. The national transactions, which are most difficult and require the greatest promptitude, are those connected with its foreign relations, for which all the above-mentioned capitals stand much more conveniently than if they had been deep in the interior of the different kingdoms. But in America foreign relations are not only the most delicate and arduous, but almost the sole concern of the general government, the interior administration being chiefly conducted by the State governments. Now, all the important foreign concerns of the Union are, and probably must for ever be, carried on by the Atlantic coast; and there must therefore be the most extreme convenience in

having a capital placed somewhat in its vicinity. By this coast also must be carried on all the foreign commerce of the country; and on it consequently will be situated the greatest cities, giving, as usual, the tone to the manners and ideas of the nation. Thus the Atlantic coast, however remote from the centre, will probably always be the prominent and vital part of the political system.

While Washington continues the seat of government, New York has rapidly risen to be the numerical and commercial capital of the United States. This pre-eminence it secures by its noble and safe harbour, and by its position on the Hudson, the greatest and most navigable river of the eastern country. These advantages have been prodigiously enhanced by the recent construction of the great canal between the Hudson and Lake Erie, affording a water-communication, and the only one which exists, with the western territory. Forests of masts surround the city on every side; vessels are seen arriving and departing with every wind, and its quays are the scene of perpetual bustle. There is still in New York a remnant of the old Dutch houses built of brick and with their gables to the street; but the English, on obtaining possession, soon had recourse to the noble forests which surrounded the city. In consequence a great part of New York is built of wood, with narrow and winding streets, and in a low situation; and from this quarter as a centre rises and spreads the yellow fever, which has so repeatedly ravaged the city. The Broadway is the handsomest street in North America, and may come into competition with the finest

in Europe. It extends nearly three miles, and is about the breadth of Oxford Street in London. Many of the houses and public buildings are handsome, though the material of the former is only painted brick; and a row of Lombardy poplars, which border it, gives it a fresh and rural appearance. This street is the favourite forenoon promenade of the fashionable female citizens, when it has an exceedingly gay appearance. The Bowery-Road, branching off at an angle from the Broadway, and extending for a mile and a half, is also very handsome. The city-hall is the most splendid edifice in New York, and, with the exception at least of the Capitol, in the whole Union. It is above 200 feet long and 50 high, and the main body constructed of white marble; but its architecture is liable to some exceptions, and its basement of red granite and cupola of painted wood are out of harmony with the rich material of which the rest is composed. Of the thirty three churches, several are built with cost and splendour, and are considered by several travellers as elegant; but Mr Duncan, who seems backed by some candid American authorities, pronounces them to be glaring specimens of bad taste. The environs of New York present scenes of great beauty. From the spot termed the Battery is viewed the long strait or estuary on which it is situated, crowded with numerous sails, and bordered by the fertile shores and gently-swelling hills of New York and New Jersey. This view has been compared to that of the Bay of Naples, and Americans consider it even as injured by the comparison. The view of New York itself strikes with admiration those who

approach it by sea. The country behind, and the opposite coast of Long Island, are covered with country houses, to which the merchants retire during the extreme and sickly heat of the summer. New York is the grand rendezvous of all the emigrants coming from Europe to the United States: in the satirical terms of Mr Faux, it is the spot "to which the scum of all the earth is drifted." From these it readily obtains all the additional population for which its own rapid growth finds employment. "As the summer destroys by the yellow fever," says Mr Janson, "the winter brings in a fresh supply." Through this constant influx, society in New York is less marked in its features, and less decidedly American, than in the other great cities. In the gay circles there is a contest between French and English costume, carried on almost with the vehemence of party-spirit, by the fair leaders of fashion. Even in this republican society two *sets* have been formed; the first of which, composed chiefly of political and professional characters, have formed themselves into a species of *noblesse*, who, with the jealous spirit of coterie, decline all connexion with the second, composed of persons employed in the various branches of trade. This seems by no means founded on superiority of wealth, since we find the second class, indignant at being excluded from the city-balls conducted by their rivals, setting up a ball of their own with a higher subscription, and conducted in a more liberal style of expense. In an intellectual view, New York is secondary to Boston, and even to Philadelphia. Its university has no pretensions to rank with Harvard; and of its two

public libraries, one contains only 5000 and the other 3000 volumes; yet the taste for study is spreading, and the prejudice felt against it by the mercantile classes, as incompatible with their professional habits and pursuits, is gradually subsiding.

Philadelphia, notwithstanding its late origin, rose, as we have seen, by such rapid steps as to have become, at the time of the revolution, the decided capital of republican America. It was even for some time the seat of the legislature, and contained a house of considerable splendour, built for the president. Philadelphia, though now reduced to the second place, is still a very handsome and respectable city, retaining much of the simplicity and steadiness of the sect from whom it derived its origin. It is built on a regular plan, neat, simple, and commodious, though somewhat too uniform and mechanical. All the streets cross each other at right angles, making the whole city like the divisions of a large chess-board. A great part of them are designated according to numbers, First Street, Second Street, Third Street,—a convenient but somewhat dry nomenclature; and the Friends seem, with happier taste, to have given to others the rural though somewhat fanciful names of Vine Street, Mulberry Street, Walnut Street. Market Street, 100 feet broad, and crossing the whole town, ought to have been superior to any of the rest; but the convenience of the citizens having induced them to erect in the midst of it a piazza, beneath which is a profuse display of meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, with sundry fabrics of earth and wood, while its sides are flanked with carts and wheelbarrows, this range has lost every pre-

tension to elegance. Upon the whole, however, the streets of Philadelphia, though they can produce nothing to come into competition with the Broadway and Bowery-Road, are more uniformly good, better paved, and better cleaned, than those of New York. This last merit is greatly promoted by the copious supply of fresh water, conveyed by pipes to every quarter. A series of fires has nearly extirpated the wooden houses, whose re-erection has been prohibited for the last thirty years. The public buildings, though not so spacious, appear to be constructed in a purer classical taste. The bank of Pennsylvania, and the more recent edifice destined for that of the United States, are reported as in a very correct and elegant style of architecture. The benevolent institutions of Philadelphia are on a greater scale than in any other American city. The hospital is a large edifice, built of brick only, yet not unhandsome. It can accommodate upwards of two hundred patients, besides many relieved at their own houses; but payment is required from those who are supposed able to afford it. To this hospital are attached a good anatomical museum and library; and a more singular appendage, the celebrated picture, by West, of Christ Healing the Sick, has even by its exhibition become a source of emolument. The new Philadelphia penitentiary, comprising a space of six hundred and thirty feet square, and containing two hundred and fifty cells, is now affording a trial, on a great scale, of the efficacy of the system of prison-reform. Philadelphia enjoys a progressive prosperity which, if not so rapid, is perhaps more solid than that of New York. If the last

stand foremost as a commercial city, Philadelphia is equally prominent in manufacturing industry; being in this respect indeed almost single among the cities of the Union. The value of its manufactures in 1810 was reckoned at nearly four millions sterling. The shipping belonging to its port amounted in 1816 to 101,830 tons. Philadelphia is more literary than New York, and than any other of the American cities, except Boston. There is a public library founded in 1742, under the auspices of Franklin, which, having received accessions from various quarters, comprises now 22,000 volumes. There are libraries also of some value belonging to the American Philosophical Society, to the Academy of Natural Science, to the Athenæum, to the Society of Friends, and to the University. Although the reputation of the latter, as to general science, is not equal to that of Harvard, it is considered the first medical school in the United States. In this department it has seven professors, and is attended by about five hundred students, each of whom pays twenty dollars to each professor. Great advantage is also derived from the clinical lectures at the hospital. We have already noticed the progress made by the art of printing; and the engraving of bank-notes, an art of so much importance for the prevention of forgery, is said to be more highly improved than even in Europe. There is a private museum, which contains a complete skeleton of that gigantic but extinct animal, the mammoth. It is eleven feet high, reaches seventeen feet in direct length, and its great tusk is ten feet long. The entire weight is a thousand pounds. The academy contains a few

fine statues, a good collection of casts, and some pictures ascribed to old masters, and which are really said to possess merit, with others by native artists, particularly Alston and Lesslie. The Quakers, who founded Philadelphia, are now greatly outnumbered by the other sects, and have ceased to give the tone to society, though Philadelphia still retains much of the sober and regular character which they impressed upon it. Among the fifty-nine places of public worship only six belong to them. Those who still hold that profession have abated much of their original austere simplicity, and of those peculiarities in dress and manners which drew so decided a line between them and the rest of society.

As New York is the commercial, and Philadelphia the manufacturing, Boston esteems itself the intellectual capital of the States. This is the earliest founded of all the great cities, and has been in a state of continually increasing prosperity. During the early progress of the colonies, and before the rapid rise of Philadelphia, it had taken a decided lead, and formed the centre of that spirit of resistance which issued in national independence. As its back territory, however, is not extremely fertile, and is now peopled nearly up to its capacities, and as it has not, like New York, any grand channel of communication with the interior, Boston has for some time begun to approach the ultimate point of growth, and has been stationary compared with its more southern rivals. Its active spirit, however, has produced a new export, that of men, who fill all the Southern States, and carry on there that busy traffic which is little suit-

ed to the genius of the natives. Boston, though now not containing a fourth of the population of either New York or Philadelphia, is still an opulent and flourishing city. It was founded, without any presentiment of its future extension, in a peninsula almost completely enclosed by a narrow and winding inlet. As this original space has proved inadequate to contain the widely-spreading extent of Boston, the suburbs of Charleston and South Boston, have been built on the opposite side of this arm of the sea, and are connected with the main body of the place by long and costly bridges across its narrowest part. Boston, an old town, is built too much in the winding, irregular, antique style; many of its streets are mere lanes and alleys. The present generation, however, has here, as elsewhere, done much to repair the imperfections of their forefathers. The usual anathema against wooden houses of more than one storey high was issued after a destructive fire in 1794: several of the new streets are handsome, and many of the new houses splendid. The wharfs and quays are very numerous, no less than eighty, and many of them reach far up into the city, enabling the ships to reach the very door of the merchants. This produces a singular effect, the masts and sails being seen mingled with the buildings, and flags flying over the tops of the houses. Boston has a very strong and spacious prison, constructed on the plan of a penitentiary, and in which about 800 criminals are annually confined. The establishment seems well-arranged, the prisoners being classified and regularly employed in hewing stones and other work; yet the

effects, either in producing reform, or in the prevention of crime, have not been conspicuous. Boston is undoubtedly the literary capital of the United States. Its collections are more extensive, and there is a more general diffusion of information than in any other western city. The Athenæum, supported solely by subscription among the citizens, possesses a library of 20,000 volumes, which is receiving constant accessions. It is made also a depository of coins, minerals, and other interesting objects of nature and art. Boston is stated as the head-quarters of federalism and politics, and unitarianism in religion. The former is common to it with all the New England States; but in religion, Newhaven, with its rival college of Yale, is orthodox, and the heresies of Boston are chiefly spread through detached congregations in the great cities throughout the Union. The inhabitants of Boston, however, still retain much of their regularity of conduct and strict attendance at public worship. Amid the boasted profuse hospitality of the south, Boston, among the cities, seems to have rather a particular fame for the exercise of this virtue.

From these northern cities we pass to Charleston, which has long been, and still in some degree is, a sort of metropolis of the south. A spacious and commodious, though not perfectly secure harbour, on a coast almost destitute of that important accommodation, has enabled Charleston almost to monopolize the commerce of North and South Carolina. Mr Lambert, to whom we are indebted for the most detailed account of Charleston, represents it as containing many handsome houses, but few elegant streets

or public buildings. The houses are spacious, surrounded with gardens, furnished with verandahs and balconies, and sometimes shaded with Venetian blinds, every arrangement being studied which in this sultry climate can preserve coolness and afford shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. The material is chiefly a brick, well qualified to resist the action of the elements, but of a somewhat gloomy red colour; while the inferior houses are of wood, and many of them very wretched. The streets are narrow and unpaved, unless for foot-passengers,—a very inconvenient circumstance, where the surface is formed entirely of dry sand, which, whenever the wind is high, is blown about in a manner very annoying to the eyes and lungs. In defence of this omission it is urged by the rulers of Charleston, that a pavement would reflect and augment the already extreme heat; but it seems justly replied, that no surface can be so arid or so hot as sand. The foot-walks, however, of Charleston are protected by rows of a tree called the Pride of India, which, though not very lofty, afford an ample and agreeable shade. Its leaves have the remarkable quality of being noxious to insects; so that a decoction of them poured over plants infested with caterpillars completely delivers them from this nuisance; but Mr Lambert seems thence rather too hastily to conclude that they must give out pestilential qualities to the atmosphere; yet the berries are eaten by animals without any bad consequence. The insalubrity of Charleston, and the dreadful ravages of the yellow fever, seem well accounted for in such a climate by other gross omissions on the part of its sanitary po-

lice. No steps are taken to fill up or drain the numerous pools, marshes, and swamps, with which the city is surrounded, and which emit at night very disagreeable effluvia; while the carcasses of dead horses, cats, dogs, and other animals, are exposed in the streets, or the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which are cleared from them only by the voracious jaws of dogs, and of a species of carrion-birds called turkey-buzzards, that are seen in vast flights hissing in fierce contention over the mangled remnants of their unfortunate victims. They cannot, however, in this climate finish their savage repast with such speed, that their prey does not previously emit the most offensive odours. In consideration of this service, these obscene birds are held almost sacred, and must on no account be killed or molested. So long indeed as they continue the sole scavengers of Charleston this toleration is necessary; but something more efficient in this department is loudly called for. The only edifice in Charleston which makes pretensions to splendour is that for the branch-bank of the United States, on which a very large sum is said to have been spent; yet the union of brick in the body of the building, of stone in the sides and corners, and of marble pillars at the entrance, excludes in a great measure any idea of taste and harmony.

The tone of society in Charleston is given by the planters, who resemble, as already observed, the country gentlemen of Europe, and who are praised for their manners and general deportment. Charleston has been described as the seat of hospitality, elegance,

and gaiety. It is observed, however, that only the gay side of the picture is exposed to public view, and that there is much in the Carolinean domestic economy which a sober judgment cannot approve. During the period of the year indeed which they spend in town, they live like princes, in a round of gaiety, hospitality, and indulgence in every pleasure; but this brilliant interval absorbs not only all, but more, than they can save by living the rest of the year on their plantations, destitute almost of common comforts. Hence, with incomes of from 6 to 50,000 dollars a-year, they have seldom a dollar in their pocket, and live in continual difficulty and embarrassment. The long credits which it is necessary to give them, and the slow and scanty instalments by which payment is made, are the subject of universal complaint among the merchants and traders. They seek indeed to indemnify themselves by laying 100 or 150 per cent. on their commodities, and when they succeed in collecting their debts are thus enabled to make rapid fortunes; but, even after retiring from business, years must be spent in collecting their arrears. Unlike the active farmer, or merchant of the north, the Carolinean lolls at ease under his shady piazza, smoking cigars and drinking sangaree, and leaving all the labour to his slaves and overseers. His amusements are not always of the most elegant kind, and consist less in the theatre and other places of public entertainment, than in horseracing with high bets, and hard drinking till the guest is laid under the table. They follow likewise with ardour all country sports, and are excellent marksmen. This

quality is greatly improved by the use of a species of lottery, where the goods instead of being awarded according to some chance-operation, are placed on a high tree and fired at with the rifle. A much less laudable use is made of this skill in the duels which, too general over America, occur with peculiar frequency at Charleston. They are attributed by Mr Warden to a nice sense of honour, but by others to merely quarrelsome propensities.

All menial offices in Charleston are performed by slaves, who form the bulk of the population. Those who cannot afford to buy one at £100 or £120, hire them at a guinea a month from persons who keep a stock for that purpose. The introduction of slaves has been prohibited since 1808; but sales of a painful and humiliating nature still take place for the interior or the western territory. Many, especially of the Carolinean ladies, are said to treat these poor dependants with great humanity, while others do not hesitate to employ their fair hands in the application of the cow-hide. For such as decline this exercise there are public whippers, who deal out lashes at a shilling a dozen; but a lady has been heard to complain, that at this rate the charge mounted up too fast, and that she must endeavour to effect a contract on easier terms. The slaves are employed in various arts and trades, in which they often acquire considerable dexterity. The city slaves consider themselves as a superior race to those employed in country labour, and place a pride in the superior prices which they would fetch, boasting, "Me bring ten times the price of dem, if massa swap me." They are con-

verted to Christianity and attentive to the duties of religion; and if their favourite instructors, who are generally of the Methodist persuasion, do not always deport themselves in the most sober manner, and be liable to some of those physical excesses which prevail in America, this cannot justify the outrageous interruptions which they sometimes receive, and which Mr Lambert records with a blameable satisfaction. In a humbler walk it is told, to the credit of the negroes, that when disposed to make proof of each other's strength, they box in a fair and manly manner, and without any of those corrupted forms which are practised by the lower tribes in the Southern States.

Virginia, notwithstanding its importance and wealth, was long almost without a capital. Its planters, generally speaking, have little taste for a town; they live on their estates in pomp and ease, and in a manner, generally happier and more respectable than their Carolina neighbours; and many of them bestow much pains in cultivating their minds and fitting themselves for public employment. Richmond was little more than a large village till about twenty years ago, when the copious exportation of tobacco and flour, the produce of the fertile surrounding districts, began to attract a numerous body of merchants, and Richmond has been since in a state of rapid increase. It probably contains now above 20,000 inhabitants, and the high price of houses and building-ground augurs a still farther progress. The most active adventurers are said to be natives of Old and New England; and the planters keep aloof,

viewing, it is said, with some jealousy this rise of a commercial interest. The urbane and social manners of the South, however, are said to prevail, and to render a residence there very agreeable.

Maryland was long nearly as destitute of a capital as Virginia, having none at least which could appear in competition with those of the Northern States. Baltimore, however, within the last thirty years having been by its two excellent harbours enabled to engross the commerce of the Chesapeake, has suddenly become the greatest city in the Union, New York and Philadelphia only excepted. All that prosperity, which was vainly desired and destined for Washington, has flowed into her. In 1796, Baltimore was supposed to contain 16,000 inhabitants; now nearly 70,000. Having risen to this greatness since the improved mode of building cities came into fashion, the streets are regular, with many extremely good houses, built chiefly of brick. A great proportion of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, the city and country being entirely founded by and for the adherents of that religion. A very spacious cathedral has been recently erected, and is the principal public building in Baltimore. The Socinians have also erected a smaller one of great elegance at an expense of £20,000, though the sect is said to be rather wealthy than numerous. There are two columnar monuments,—one dedicated to Washington, the other in commemoration of the battle in which General Ross fell. Baltimore has two universities,—one founded on a Roman Catholic basis, though it has educated eminent men in every profession; the other of more

recent erection, called the University of Maryland; but only the medical department has been yet organized. The society of Baltimore is chiefly commercial.

Having thus cast our eye over the eastern cities, we must now cross the Alleghany, and survey those which have risen like magic in the mighty domain of the west. Of them the first, and still the foremost in point of importance, is Pittsburgh. This city, happily placed at the point where the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers unite to form the mighty Ohio, is thus at the head of a river-navigation of nearly three thousand miles, and forms the connecting link between Old and New America. It is technically included in Pennsylvania; but as it has risen entirely with and for the Western States, it is really and clearly a western city. The Americans, who are liable to boasting, are said to exercise this propensity in a special manner with regard to Pittsburg. The view of this first manufacturing city, springing up like magic in the midst of the desert, is no doubt calculated to act strongly on the imagination. It is called the Birmingham of America, which even Mr Birkbeck could see nothing in any degree to justify. In fact, the enumeration of its manufactures given by Fearon and Flint shows clearly that they are mere workshops for the supply of a wide rural district with those bulky articles which cannot bear the cost of transportation across the Alleghany. The chief are smiths, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, makers of mills, machines, and waggons. There are only four or five employed in the manufacture of cloth, and those are said to find it a losing concern. The only one which

seems really worthy of the term manufacture is that of glass, a brittle substance, which could not be conveyed in safety across the rough western roads. Pittsburg, encompassed by great river-channels, and bordered by wooded heights, has a picturesque and almost romantic appearance, not very much akin to the pursuits of its inhabitants. However, these hills enclose most solid treasures,—a nearly inexhaustible deposit of coal, obtained almost without digging, by merely opening the side of the mountain, and laying a plank, over which the coals are driven in a wheelbarrow.

In descending the Ohio, we meet with a succession of newly-founded and rapidly-rising towns. Wheeling stands at the junction of the Ohio line with that of the great national road which crosses the Alleghanies from Baltimore. Although this road is stated by Major Long to be not good, it is however a road, and much the shortest from the Atlantic coast. It is likely, therefore, to become soon the great line of trade and emigration, and Wheeling, containing large mineral deposits in the vicinity, has all the materials of future importance. Farther down, the Muskingum and the Scioto gain the Ohio after traversing tracts favourable for trade and settlement. Zanesville on the former river, and Chillicothe on the latter, were both, as Mr Birkbeck informs us, founded by an intelligent person of the name of Zane, whose choice has been justified by their prosperity; but, unluckily, overlooking every thing but mercantile benefit, he neglected the fine elevated sites in their neighbourhood, and built them on a level with the river, where

they are both unhealthy and liable to inundation. The seat of government, formerly at Chillicothe, is now transferred to Columbus, higher up the river; but though this place, which in 1812 consisted of one log-cabin, exhibits, as Mr Long observes, a remarkable change in having acquired a population of 1500 civilized inhabitants, it is left much behind by other towns in the State, and possesses no natural advantages ever likely to raise it to their level. The Ohians do not seem very well able to say upon what principle they chose Columbus as the seat of administration.

Cincinnati, lower down the river, and almost at the frontier, is the real capital of Ohio, the chief seat of trade in this part of America, and the main halting-place to the numerous bodies of emigrants who proceed to the westward. Cincinnati was one of the oldest towns of the western territory, and till 1800 the official capital of the State of Ohio; but this was afterwards removed to the banks of the Scioto, as a more central position. In 1810 it had still only 2320 inhabitants; in 1813 it was found to have 4000; the census of 1815 gave 6000; that of 1819, according to Mr Flint, 10,330. Both he and Fearon, from the stagnation of trade, anticipate a stationary state, and even a decline; yet Judge Hall intimates that the number has now risen to 18,000. Cincinnati is built completely on the Ohio bottom, insomuch that a *levée* of six feet high would be required to preserve it from occasional inundation. Yet the ground rises immediately behind; but gain! gain! gain! is, according to Mr Birkbeck, the alpha and omega of the

founders of American cities. Cincinnati has been built on the model of Philadelphia, with parallel streets, crossing each other at right angles, and called First Street, Second Street, Third Street, &c. Many of the houses are neat, though few aim at splendour. Wilson the ornithologist thinks it the prettiest town beyond Philadelphia. As it slopes, however, somewhat rapidly towards the river, an inconvenient descent of water and mud takes place during the rains. Few towns abound more in the materials of building, having marble, freestone, earth fit for brick, and wood of various kinds in the greatest plenty. The last material is in most instances preferred by the haste or indolence of the new-comers. The houses of stone are extremely few; those of brick are about a fourth of the whole, those of timber three-fourths. They do not even paint the wood, though this precaution would be necessary to secure its durability. Notwithstanding the use of this combustible material, no good precautions are taken against fire, and luckily as yet no great disaster has forced upon them a sense of their necessity. The manufactures, as they are called, of Cincinnati are nearly on the same scale and of the same character as those of Pittsburg,—great workshops for the lower districts of Ohio and Indiana, and many persons employed in the extensive building concerns of the city itself. There are house-carpenters, 400; shoemakers, 116; blacksmiths, 90; boat-builders, 60 or 70; cabinet-makers, 54; brick-makers, 200; coopers, 84, &c. Cincinnati has made some efforts to raise itself to an intellectual character; and two universities have been set on foot, one called the

Cincinnati, and the other the Miami; but though they exposed themselves to what Dr Drake calls the "stigma of mendicity," by sending a Dr Brown to collect money in the Eastern States, who returned with about 400 dollars, neither of these institutions has yet arrived at any importance. The public library did not in 1815 exceed 800 volumes. The first newspaper west of the Alleghany was begun here in 1793, under the title of the "Sentinel of the North-Western Territory." At present there are the Western Spy, with 1200 subscribers, and Liberty-Hall, with 1400. Dr Drake bestows on the printing of Cincinnati a degree of praise which is not borne out by the execution of his own book.

Passing now the great Wabash, we come to two States, Indiana and Illinois, which carry the career of settlement west to the Mississippi. This outer region presents a somewhat new aspect. The habitations are as yet thinly scattered, and the cultivated territory bears a small proportion to the immensity of forest and prairie. To Mr Birkbeck the settlers appeared a superior class, who, beginning their movement later, found the best districts on the Ohio already occupied, and came on to Indiana; yet this does not very well accord with the miserable aspect of the huts which he discovered in his route. The society is here of very various aspect. The new settlers are mixed with a race of early French colonists, who, with the characteristic enterprise of their nation, came down to this tract from Upper Canada and the region on the lakes. Birkbeck observes, that the Frenchman, however long absent from his country, and en-

circled by strangers, never loses his natural polish and amenity, which render him a favourite of all the natives among whom he resides. The society of Vincennes has thus in some respects more of outward refinement than even that of some great cities. Along all the exterior borders of this territory, however, are found a numerous tribe of squatters, back-woodsmen, hunters, and even outlaws, who have sought refuge from justice amid these wilds. Generally throughout all the inhabitants of this region, there is a want of any disposition to obey laws which do not accord with their own inclination. Lastly appear bands of Indians, who have still reserved some portions of this last boundary of their ancient inheritance, and who repair to the towns to sell the produce of their red hunt, and intoxicate themselves with its proceeds. Such is the varied spectacle presented by the infant cities of Princeton and Vincennes. The latter being built too low, is unhealthy during a certain season; and Princeton, though on a more elevated site, in the midst of an irregular and, what the Americans call, rolling country, does not exempt the new settler from the probability of a seasoning fever. In Illinois, Kaskaquia, though an old French settlement, cannot yet rank above a village, and the same may be said of the new capital known by the somewhat rude and fantastic name of Vandalia. It appears, however, by Mr Beck's plan, to be built on the same system of mechanical regularity of which Philadelphia had set the example.

The Mississippi, which we have now reached, sets limits to settlement in this quarter; for that vast range which the Americans have annexed to their union

under the title of North-west Territory, remains still in the undisturbed possession of Indian natives. We have now, therefore, to cross the Ohio to Kentucky, which extends along its opposite bank. This river serves as a boundary between two very opposite forms and states of society; all on one side belongs to the north, all on the other to the south. Kentucky was peopled from Virginia, and formed on its model. It is a state of slaves and planters; its people are hospitable, frank, luxurious, and indolent. Mr Fearon, on his arrival at Lexington, saw the long-unwonted spectacle of a party sitting and conversing round a bottle of wine; but they are proud, loose, and turbulent; and it seems to be here chiefly that travellers still receive notice of the ancient brutal modes of waging combat. Mr Flint does not appear actually to have seen a *gouged* person; but he discovered noses and ears which had been partially removed by the barbarous processes formerly recorded. The numerous dirks exposed for sale in the jewellers' shops showed the article to be in demand; and being worn and concealed under the waistcoat, they acquired an affinity to the Italian stiletto. Swearing, another feature of semi-barbarous societies, is dreadfully prevalent. The system of slavery produces among the whites a disdain of honest labour, and an idea of disgrace attached to it, which often reduces the females especially to very great distress. It must be granted to them, however, that the zeal for knowledge appears to be ardent. Young as Lexington is, it has become the seat of a university, which Mr Fearon saw opened by a procession, accompanied

with music. A library and other literary collections are rapidly forming. Franklin is the state-capital; but, by a fatality which seems generally to attend America, it is completely eclipsed by Lexington, situated in a fine and fertile plain, and which, from being in 1797 a group of fifty log-houses, has risen to be one of the best-built towns in America. The main street particularly, eighty feet wide, has few rivals in elegance. Lexington, however, is likely to be surpassed by Louisville, built immediately below the Rapids of the Ohio, which render navigation above that point practicable only during part of the year. It is consequently becoming more and more the emporium of that vast trade which Ohio and Kentucky carry on with the Mississippi and New Orleans.

Tennessee, with its neat and rising capitals of Nashville and Knoxville, exhibits nearly a similar aspect to Kentucky, though yet in a less advanced stage of its progress.

The state of Missouri is situated wholly to the west of the Mississippi, and its counties extend along the banks of that river, and about a hundred and fifty miles up those of its mighty tributary the Missouri. The region, generally, is of great natural capacity, but its cultivation as yet extends only along the rivers, and is nearly confined to the production of maize. Now, however, that New Orleans has become the main emporium of the western territory, the Missouri, being nearer to it than the upper tracts of the Ohio are, is likely to increase rapidly, especially when it has recovered from the shocks sustained by excessive speculation. None of its towns have yet risen to any

great magnitude. St Louis, situated on the Mississippi, a little below the grand junction, affords the chief vent for the productions of the upper districts. It was originally a French town, in which capacity it had only three small streets, and a population of scarcely a thousand; nor did it increase till after the annexation of Louisiana, since which time it has rapidly grown to upwards of 5000. The American part is composed of parallel streets, called First, Second, Third, &c. after the model of Philadelphia. St Charles, on the Missouri, presents the same history, on a smaller scale as yet; but its command of the navigation of that great river promises a high future prosperity. New Madrid, below the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, was destined to a much more splendid lot than either. Colonel Morgan laid it out in 1817 with ten streets, of which one was 120 feet broad, and with six spacious squares; but vain in this respect are human plans and designs. After a short interval of prosperity, New Madrid declined so rapidly, that Mr Nuttall, in 1820, found it composed of little more than twenty miserable log-houses and stores, where a scanty supply of goods was retailed to the neighbourhood at enormous prices. This decline appears to have been in a great degree owing to the dreadful earthquake of 1812, which convulsed the whole country round; and it should seem that if things go on in their present train, there ought to be a great city here or somewhere in its neighbourhood.

The traveller, as he descends the Mississippi, has on one side the State bearing that name, and on the

other the Arkansa territory, composed of the great Mississippi bottom, which presents a dead and almost sunk level, varied only by a few gentle risings, and presenting a somewhat monotonous surface. The scenery, however, derives a great interest from the magnificent display of the vegetable kingdom. "The gigantic plum and maple trees, a large profusion of seventy or eighty species of American oak, sassafras, hickory, magnolia grandiflora, a hundred feet high, with its deep-green leaves, broad yellow flowers, expanded like a full-blown rose, remind us that we are far from home; while at night the brilliancy of the stars, the delicate fragrance of the surrounding woods, and especially the fire-flies, which sparkle on every side, seem almost to transport us into the regions of eastern romance." The planter of the Mississippi is much richer, and with less labour, than the North American farmer. He cultivates tobacco and cotton, commodities which have a sure sale in Europe; and though the latter has fallen to half its former price, it still amply repays the cost of cultivation. Provided he has capital to purchase an estate and stock it with negroes, a very slight inspection is necessary to secure its management. A planter who makes from one to two thousand a-year lives only in the style of a second-rate farmer in Britain, and thus, if otherwise economical, makes a rapid fortune. A good deal is spent, however, in excursions, which last often for several months, to the northern cities of New York and Boston. Mr Hodgson reckons that if the Mississippi planters could be cleared from the stains of slavery, they would be exceedingly honourable and

agreeable men. The towns are small and poor, every one making haste to buy and stock a plantation. The only place of any consequence is Natches, regularly and handsomely built of brick, and situated on a rising ground, whence it commands a delightful prospect. On the opposite side of the river is the Arkansa territory, on the great river of that name. The soil is extremely well fitted for tobacco and cotton; but its distance, and the want of many accommodations, prevent it from being generally the choice of those who can afford to establish themselves east of the Mississippi. A large distribution of lands has here been made among the troops who served with distinction in the last war; but those veterans do not appear to set a very high value on this mark of their country's gratitude, and most of them prefer to continue drawing their pay than to exile themselves on this remote possession. The towns of Arkansa and Arkopolis are still quite in their infancy.

New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, is the only great city in this part of America. Holding from its position the command of all the immense navigable river-courses of interior America, it is making the most rapid progress of any American city, and will doubtless one day become the greatest in that continent, perhaps even in the world. At the time of the cession, in 1802, it had only 8000 inhabitants; in 1820 the census gave 27,000; and M. Sidon, in 1827, found it to contain 40,000. The inhabitants are a confused assemblage of the successive French and Spanish settlers, of Americans from every quarter of the Union, and of adventurers from the British

empire, who all, "as if the Mississippi rolled down gold," flock to its shore. There is in fact no part of the world where a fortune may be made more speedily and certainly. Contrary to what obtains on our side of the world, there is more employment in every trade than there are hands to execute: even a good tailor may make a little fortune in a few years. Indeed, all except the most wealthy import their clothes ready-made from New York and Philadelphia. Every kind of work, and all the provisions which must be raised in the immediate neighbourhood, bear an enormous price, and render living extremely dear. A still more formidable evil consists in the insalubrity of the air, arising from the extensive marshes and inundated grounds which border the lower part of the Mississippi. Yet the winter and spring are delightful, and so healthy, that New Orleans is even resorted to at these seasons for the benefit of the air. In summer it becomes intensely hot, and the resident is cruelly annoyed by the musquitoes; yet June and July still pass without any alarm from the yellow fever. That terrible malady makes its first appearance in the early days of August, and continues till October. During that era, New Orleans appears like a deserted city; all who possibly can, fly to the north or the upper country, most of the shops are shut, and the silence of the streets is only interrupted by the sound of the hearse passing through them. In one year 8000 died of this fever. Since the morasses have been partially cleared, its ravages have been less destructive; and, as this good work is going

on, the city may hope in time to be almost wholly freed from this terrible scourge.

The moral aspect of New Orleans is the most sinister which is presented by any city of America. The adventurers who had flocked thither, and whom Sidon brands as the refuse of Europe and America, seem to have imported all the vices without any of the virtues of their respective countries. Nothing is to be seen of that sober and orderly demeanour which is so creditable to the northern cities. The religious spirit which prevails there is here almost extinct. While Pittsburg has four places of worship for 10,000 inhabitants, New Orleans for 40,000 has only five. The visitant from the north has on a Sunday the dissatisfaction of seeing the shops and markets open, and the sound of music and dancing echoing from the ball-rooms. Gaming-houses abound in every quarter; and nothing prevents the inhabitants from plunging into the utmost excesses of dissipation except the avidity for making a fortune, which forms the ruling passion in the breast of every citizen of New Orleans. The North Americans, in particular, who are its most active members, live in a retired manner, and centre all their cares in that of returning rich to their native district. From these different causes it results that the public institutions, especially of an intellectual nature, do not exist on any scale commensurate with the wealth and greatness of New Orleans. A college which had been commenced, though on a very small scale, was shut in consequence of containing only twelve pupils. All attempts have failed to form even a reading-room,

though there is not in other parts of the Union a town of 2000 inhabitants without one. Masked balls, bull-fights, and sensual indulgencies, form almost the exclusive enjoyments of the greater part of the inhabitants. Whoever, according to Mr Fearon, wishes only to be rich, and to lead a short life and a merry one, should go to New Orleans; but the merriment appears at least not to be of a very refined nature.

CHAPTER IV.

VIEW OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Peculiar Situation of America.—Its great Capacities.—National Lands.—Their Extent.—Mode of Sale.—American Agriculture.—Price of Lands.—Products,—Maize, Wheat, Tobacco, Rice, and Cotton.—Domestic Animals.—Manufactures.—Commerce.—Detailed Exports and Imports in 1810.—*Exports and Imports in* 1826.—*Estimates by the Convention of Harrisburg.—American Tariff.*

THE processes of industry, those processes by which men procure for themselves the necessaries, the accommodations, and the ornaments of life, form a fundamental and essential element in national economy. These afford to man, first, the means of preserving his existence; then of many innocent and substantial enjoyments; lastly, a certain advanced state in respect to them forms an essential prelude to more refined and elevated attainments. America, in respect to the various branches of industry, is in a state wholly different and even opposite to that which obtains on this side of the Atlantic. Here man has to maintain a continued struggle against nature, and

feels his progress in every direction curbed and limited by the want of materials; there nature, as compared to man, appears immense and exhaustless, and her choicest gifts are lavished in empty profusion for want of his hand to draw forth and enjoy them. Estates, which would be a patrimony for princes, may be purchased for what would not be the year's income of an English farmer; and lands of the most luxuriant fertility may be purchased in perpetuity for what in England would be esteemed a small annual quit-rent. To the European mind, the idea of a landed proprietor suggests the most brilliant images,—unbounded wealth, respect, pomp, and influence. But the possessor of thousands of American acres is far from being in the enjoyment of this envied lot. Both to himself and his country indeed a brilliant future vista opens; and the imagination can scarcely comprehend the immense amount of productive wealth which will one day be floated down the mighty western rivers. But he himself in the meantime has to struggle against much difficulty and poverty. Nature not only does not bestow her treasures without the labour of man; she resists his strenuous and above all his early efforts. It is a toilsome task to strip her of that luxuriant vegetation in which she spontaneously invests herself, and which she makes continual endeavours to reproduce, whenever human exertion is slackened. The want of servants too, the want of accumulated capital, the want of refined and costly machinery, paralyze all his efforts to carry on improvement on an extensive scale. In an age, when all the processes of agricul-

ture and art have been carried to the highest perfection, and even with a thorough knowledge of these processes, the farmer must be content with rude and infant modes of cultivation.

The entire surface of the United States, according to the latest calculation, is estimated at 2,360,000 square miles, or about 1530 millions of acres. Of this enormous surface about a thirty-eighth part, or 40 millions of acres, was reckoned in 1809 to be under tillage. There were also, indeed, in gardens and orchards about 12 millions; in meadow and fallow about 11 millions. The amount since that time has probably increased at least by one-half. In 1798, the sixteen original States had within their boundaries 164 millions of acres, the property either of private individuals, or of the State-governments. At that time, however, a transaction took place by which all right to the lands composing the states newly formed or to be formed hereafter, was placed in the hands of the general government, and the revenue which might arise from their sale was placed at its disposal. Under this arrangement, the land at the disposal of government was offered to public sale in lots of six hundred and forty acres at two dollars per acre, with four years' credit, which was afterwards, on payment of ready money, reduced to $1\frac{64}{100}$ dollars. Golden dreams, it appears, were indulged of the large sums which from this source were to flow into the national treasury. They might have continued for a hundred and fifty years, selling annually at the rate of ten millions of acres, which would have yielded a sum more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of

the general government. These hopes were not fulfilled. From the opening of the land-office in 1800 to the report of the committee of Congress in January 1818, the national sales had not exceeded nine millions of acres, and the produce consequently had not amounted to 19,000,000 dollars. Probably as much more has been sold since that time; yet this has made very little impression on the immensity of land to be disposed of; and the proceeds, by Mr Cooper's calculation, have done very little more than cover the expenses of sale and purchase from the Indians. In 1813, the commissioners of the land-office reported the public lands on the east of the Mississippi as amounting to about 205 millions of acres, 56 millions of which had been purchased from the Indians, and 149 millions were still claimed as the free hunting ground of that savage race.

The ground appropriated and disposed into farms includes thus only a small part of the United States' territory; and even of that part, only a small proportion is under tillage. Mr Warden gives, as a specimen of management on American farms, one of a hundred and fifty acres on Lake Ontario, of which fifty acres are in wood, seventy or eighty in pasture, and the acres under grain vary from twenty to thirty. The farms throughout the States are on a small scale, and mostly laboured by the hands of the proprietor and his family. There are few who find any advantage in purchasing land even at the low price for which it is offered, with a view to letting it on lease. Almost every man who has funds to stock a farm and make the first necessary advances, can also, in the course of

five years, make up the small quit-price exacted by the American government; and he has much more pride and comfort in farming his own lands than in renting those of another. The only transaction at all similar has been that of individuals purchasing large tracts, and retailing them in small portions, by which we have had occasion to observe that several large fortunes were made; but government has now taken this trade into its own hands. With as little success also does the farmer in general attempt to operate on a great scale by the hire of servants and labourers. These are scarce, dear, and intractable. The rate of wages is so high that a young man of any spirit or industry is seldom long before he can contrive to become proprietor of a little spot which he may cultivate with his own hands; the servants who can be hired, therefore, are generally the idle, the thoughtless, and the dissipated; and they are, moreover, deeply imbued with the principle, that they are not servants, but helps and comrades, who are to work only if and when they please. Mr Parkinson makes a rueful lamentation, that he and Mrs P. were obliged to rise in the morning and milk the cows, while they had four servants in bed. If any thing is said which appears to them unsuitable to their dignity, they hesitate not to throw up work at the busiest period of harvest. The only case in which either farmers or proprietors can live like gentlemen, and make a large income, is in the Southern States, where they can purchase as many slaves as they please, and devolve the labour upon them; but this requires a large capital, and happily is not to the taste of British emigrants.

As farming in the United States is thus conducted on a small scale, and generally also without any very elaborate and skilful processes, the nice rotation of crops, the careful enclosure, the housing of cattle, the collection and distribution of manure, which form the pride of the British and Flemish agriculturist, are almost unknown. The cattle find their food among the woods, or in the open meadows. The culture is carried on upon the principle formerly called in this country infield and outfield. About a third of the open ground is brought at a time under the plough, and when this is exhausted, another portion is taken, and then another, till the first, by this interval of repose, has regained its productive powers. This system, in fact, is adopted much less from the want of knowledge of a better, than because no other is yet compatible with the circumstances in which the country is placed. There is plenty of ground to admit of this succession of alternate labour and rest; and the price which could be obtained for the produce would not pay the expense of raising a greater quantity on the same ground. The speculations, therefore, of English farmers who hoped to make a fortune by applying their own improved processes to land where there was neither rent, taxes, nor tithes, have proved very abortive. In some of the older and more peopled States, however, rapid steps are making towards an improved order of things. Long Island, from its close vicinity to New York, and easy water-conveyance, possesses all the advantages of a good market. There enclosures, or at least strong wooden palings, manure, and commodious reaping-machines, have been introduced. Mas-

sachusetts and Connecticut also, though they are defective in natural fertility, are nearly as much cultivated as if they were European countries; and the timber remaining on them is not more than the great cities afford an increasing demand for. But the great valley of Pennsylvania, between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, is that which, according to Mr Fearon, may fairly come into competition with Old England. The superior cultivation, excellent breed and condition of live-stock, substantial barns, and opulent farm-houses, bear testimony to the diligence and opulence of the proprietors. Much of this merit is ascribed to German colonists. Societies for the promotion of agricultural knowledge have been formed in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and a general spirit of improvement seems to be spreading. Mr Spafford considers, that the introduction of gypsum as a manure has produced an entirely new era in the agriculture of New York.

The price of land, uncultivated and without any peculiar advantages of situation, has been observed to be two dollars an acre, payable by instalments in the course of four years, or $1\frac{65}{100}$ dollars when paid in ready money. This price seems sufficient to ensure a continued succession of purchasers for the sake of cultivation, but not to afford any temptation to speculate with a view to sell over again. Congress in 1817 felt a disposition to raise the price; but a committee appointed by them reported against the possibility of obtaining any advance. In the Eastern States, however, and even in favourable circumstances beyond the Alleghany, land bears a much higher

value. Mr Flint supposes, that if there were sales of land in Long Island, which is rare, it would fetch 140 or 150 dollars; but two lots that were actually priced by Mr Fearon were stated at only 70 dollars. In the environs of Boston he found the price running between 50 and 100 dollars; but at a distance of more than eight miles it fell to twenty or thirty. In the Pennsylvanian valley, farms of 200 acres, comprising ninety arable, fifty meadow, ten orchard, and fifty woodland, will bring 20,000 dollars. Woodland, close to the city, is worth 300 or 400. In the more remote parts of Philadelphia, twenty dollars is the highest price given for unimproved land. In the close vicinity of Pittsburg the price is stated at 100 dollars; but beyond five miles it falls to fifty and twenty. Mr Birkbeck mentions 50 dollars as familiarly spoken of in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati, and that he had been asked thirty dollars for a large tract without improvements in the Great Miami; but this must have been a very exorbitant demand, when there were such immense tracts in this quarter yet unsold at the government-price of two dollars. Mr Fearon reports 8 to 30 dollars as the current demand for land which was called improved, and in a tolerable situation, without being near any large town. It is obvious, however, that the greater part of this price must consist of the buildings, rude as they may be, which are included in it, and of the work put upon it in clearing the woods, draining the prairies, and breaking up the soil. Dr Drake reckons the price of fertile unimproved land in the settled por-

tions of the Miami country at 8 dollars; if cultivated, at 12. In Kentucky, Fearon estimates the land in the immediate vicinity of a populous town to run from 20 to 40 dollars an acre; between five and ten miles, 10 to 20; ten and fifteen miles, 5 to 15. In Illinois, the most choice lots bring only six dollars. The value of unimproved land is found to be indicated by the species of timber which grows upon it. The elm, ash, walnut, sugar-tree, honey-locust, and some others, are regarded as pointing out the very best lands; that clothed in beech ranks lower, and a surface covered with white and black oak lowest of all.

Among the objects of culture, maize, the indigenous grain of this continent, is that which succeeds most universally. Although it be properly the grain of a warm climate, and in Europe succeeds there only, yet the intense though transient heat of an American summer is sufficient to ripen a grain of so rapid a growth; and the same heat is unfavourable to oats, the prevailing grain in high European latitudes. The calcareous soil which covers the whole western territory is peculiarly favourable to maize. This appears to be the most productive of all grains. In Ohio it yields often a hundred bushels to an acre, though Dr Drake does not conceive the average to exceed forty-five bushels. The average of Massachusetts is stated by Mr Warden at only twenty-eight bushels. It is a coarse grain, yet, mixed with a third of rye, it constitutes the common bread of four-fifths of the people, and is superior to all other for fattening cattle, poultry, and hogs. Its straw and envelope, when dried,

are equal to the best hay. Wheat, however, the grain so decidedly esteemed above all others, is considered a more valuable crop in the soils adapted to it, and where culture has made the requisite progress. It is the grain used for the bread of the opulent, and the best fitted for exportation. The New England States, notwithstanding their temperate latitude, from their disadvantages of soil, and the want of a sufficient heat, do not bring it to perfection. The Southern States of the Carolinas and Mississippi have too much moisture, and a climate too tropical. The middle States, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and in the west Ohio and Kentucky, are the tracts in which this important grain is produced with that excellence which enables it to become a leading article of American export. Rye for mixing with maize in the common bread, oats for horses, and barley for distillation, are also raised, though the two last not on so great a scale as in the northern countries of Europe.

To the south a different class of products begin, not of the same solid and substantial value, but for which there is a greater demand over the world, and which form thus the main staples of American exportation. Of these the oldest and most standard is tobacco. This is an annual plant, which rises to the height of five to seven feet, and spreads out copious leaves, in which its value resides. That it may put out these abundantly, its top and many of its shoots are cut off. It requires if possible fresh ground, which is usually cleared for it in the course of the winter. The tobacco is planted in April, and cut down gene-

rally in October; but is liable to suffer both from several species of worms, and from the frost, which sometimes partially destroys it. The change of colour from green to brown marks the maturity of the plant, which is then reaped and spread in the sun for one day, after which it is removed into the tobacco-house, and six weeks are employed in drying it. The second crop is inferior to the first, and after the third the ground is almost quite exhausted. The tobacco of Virginia is reckoned the best for chewing and for snuff, though it cannot rival the reputation of Cuba for cigars. The best is raised on a tract of country about 150 miles by 80, extending along the Blue Ridge; but of late the opinion has become prevalent, that tobacco is a bad crop, which exhausts the soil, and does not repay the expenses of cultivation so well as wheat. The tobacco-planter of Virginia has also been much injured by the rivalry which has arisen in Kentucky and Tennessee; and Mr Beck even calculates that it will become a staple of the rising territory of Missouri. Rice, in the swampy ground along the seacoast of the Carolinas, is cultivated largely for exportation. Ground which can be inundated yields three barrels per acre, worth fifty or sixty dollars. In Louisiana and part of Mississippi there are vast plantations of sugar cane, which supply a great part of the consumption of the United States. But of late the all-absorbing article, in every district where it can be raised, has been cotton, for which in the manufactures of Europe, and especially of Britain, there exists an almost unlimited demand. This culture originated in Georgia, where that pro-

duced on the coast and on the range of islands opposite to it, called Sea Islands cotton, is of longer staple, and bears a higher price, than the cotton raised in any other district of the globe. One man can cultivate from four to six acres of cotton along with maize and other articles of provision. To such an extent has this culture been carried, that in the year 1826 Britain alone, which doubtless is the best customer, took off 138 millions of pounds valued at 4,595,000 pounds sterling.

The domestic animals of Europe, conveyed over with the first colonists, have prospered and multiplied as if on their native soil. Even the horses escaped from their Spanish masters on the Mexican frontier, and become wild, now roam in immense herds over the boundless prairies of the west. The horses of the middle States, especially Maryland and Pennsylvania, and which have been imported into Ohio, meet with singular approbation from Mr Birkbeck. He says they are of good bone, beautiful form, and denoting a strain of high blood. The old English hunter has been raised to a stout coach-horse, but comprising all degrees of strength and size down to hackneys of some few hands. Mr Fearon, in terms less enthusiastic, describes the horse of the Pennsylvanian valley as a medium between our saddle and cart-horses, and well suited for most purposes,—worth from £11 to £36. Near Pittsburg they may, it appears, be had from twenty to thirty dollars; but some saddle-horses rise so high as 150 dollars. Mr Birkbeck was much edified with seeing

horses which had carried their riders across the Alleghany retaining still their flesh and vigour unimpaired. He speaks in very different terms of the Virginian cattle, which he brands as "dog-horses." This may be true of the working animals; but Mr Weld considers the riding-horses light indeed, but handsome, and only spoiled by the absurd style in which the Virginians ride. They abhor a trot, and instruct the animal only in a pace and a *wrack*. In the pace he moves the two feet on one side at the same time, producing a kind of continued shuffle; while in the *wrack* the two fore-feet gallop, while the two behind trot,—a gait equally devoid of grace and contrary to nature; but the Virginian insists that no other affords so easy a seat. Great attention is paid to horses for racing, which is a favourite amusement in this state; and though the very finest are imported from England, yet Mr Weld considers many of those reared in the territory as very meritorious. The cattle have also been carefully improved by crossing with the best English breeds, and are in general good. The dairy forms an extensive employment in the New England States, particularly Connecticut and Rhode Island; and large droves of fat cattle in fine condition are driven over the Alleghany from the prairies and bottoms of the western territory. The products of cattle, in the forms of salted flesh, butter, and cheese, form an important part of the national exports. Hogs also are copiously reared, and find abundance of food in the woods, especially of Kentucky. There is no animal on whose improve-

ment greater pains have been bestowed than sheep, especially the Merino breed, but hitherto with slender success.

Manufactures, so far at least as they relate to fine and splendid fabrics, destined for a distant market, do not and for a long time cannot flourish in America. For these the requisites are large capital which cannot be absorbed by agriculture, costly and complicated machinery, and a supply of cheap and steady workmen; all which requisites are at present wanting. The attractions of an agricultural life, where land is so easily procured, causes the labourer soon to desert the close and damp apartment, "where the pale weaver plies his sickly trade." This does not arise from any want of spirit and enterprise in the people. There is scarcely one of those magnificent fabrics which form the pride of Britain which spirited attempts have not been made in America to imitate; and they have been supported by the government, actuated by national jealousy and by false views of political economy. Being destitute, however, of the proper root, they have gradually withered away. The American manufactures consist mainly of homely stout fabrics made in the family and for family-use; or they belong to that class which in Europe are called trades, the products of which are too bulky to be imported, or which must be fitted on the spot to their object,—beer, shoes, hats, mill-work, farm-implements, and other machinery. Some of these, particularly shoes, are carried on with such spirit that they become an object of export, at least from one State to another. Timber is so abundant a material

that every thing made from it is produced within the country. The same cause favours the growth of ship-building, which is carried on very extensively in the Northern States; and the steam-vessels of America are still superior to any constructed in Europe. Grain, in some remote districts, is made into spirits, as the shape in which it can be most commodiously transported. There are even instances in which fine manufactures have been undertaken with success, where circumstances opposed an invincible obstacle to their introduction from abroad. Thus very beautiful glass fabrics are made at Pittsburg, because that brittle substance can scarcely be conveyed over the rough roads of Alleghany without being dashed to pieces. One circumstance favourable to manufactures is afforded by the pride of the American females, who, disdaining domestic service, prefer to work at lower wages in a public factory. According to a very comprehensive census taken in 1810, the following was the amount of the most considerable American manufactures:—

	Dollars.
Goods wrought in the loom,	39,500,000
Machinery of various kinds,	6,100,000
Hats,	4,300,000
Iron manufactures,	14,360,000
Leather,	17,900,000
Distilled and fermented liquors,	16,530,000
Articles made of wood,	5,540,000
Various minor fabrics,	23,464,602
	127,694,602

In producing these there were employed 325,392 looms, 122,647 spindles, 153 iron furnaces, 34 rolling and slitting mills, 141,191 distilleries, (many on a small scale, for domestic use,) producing 22,977,000 gallons of spirits from grain and 2,827,000 from molasses; 132 breweries, 208 gunpowder-mills.

Commerce is a branch which employs a comparatively small part of the American population, yet for which they have shown a peculiar aptitude, and have pursued it with extraordinary briskness and enterprise. Their vessels are seen along the coasts of all the three continents, and they have rivalled or supplanted some of the great European powers even in the distant markets of China. They hesitate not, in little barks of sixty or seventy tons, to cross the Pacific. The bold spirit of a republican government prompts naturally to mercantile enterprises; and, obliged by situation to obtain all the luxuries of life, and all the finer manufactures from across extensive oceans, they were early led into the path of maritime adventure. Even the carrying trade, which properly belongs to a much more advanced stage in the progress of national industry, was early thrown into their hands by the great general war in which Europe was involved, and which rendered theirs almost the only neutral flag that was to be seen on the European seas. In consequence, indeed, of the desperate and imbittered hostility which reigned at last between the belligerents, directed especially against each other's commerce, they were exposed to considerable difficulties and annoyances; yet their maritime spirit suffered no abatement. On the examination in 1812, relative to the orders in council, it was stated by Mr

Poole, Mr Berthon, and other Liverpool merchants, that for some years all the imports from America into this country had been exclusively in American bottoms. The general peace in Europe of course deprived America of this carrying trade, which was indeed only an excrescence in her system; but the fundamental principles, which consisted in the exportation of her own surplus produce, and the import of foreign luxuries, has been in a state of constant increase.

In 1821 the exports were estimated at 64,974,000 dollars, of which 43,671,000 were of home-produce, and 21,302,000 of foreign produce re-exported. Of the domestic amount, cotton forms about 46 per cent.; grain and flour 15; tobacco 13; lumber, bark, &c. 6; horses, beef, &c. 5. Of the imports, the leading articles are woollens, value 6,959,000 dollars; cottons 6,665,000; silks 3,430,000; linens 2,318,000; iron and iron-ware 2,969,000; hemp, &c. 1,271,000; wines 1,632,000; spirits 1,640,000; molasses 1,708,000; teas 1,081,000; coffee 2,403,000; sugars 1,905,000 dollars.

The following was the proportion in that year of the imports and exports between America and the principal countries with which she held intercourse:

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
Russia,	1,852,000	628,000
Holland,	1,938,000	3,694,000
British Isles,	25,087,000	20,777,000
France,	5,989,000	5,528,000
Spain,	542,000	539,000
Portugal,	356,000	147,000

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
Italy and Malta, -	973,000	1,099,000
Sweden, - -	759,000	217,000
Cuba, - -	6,584,000	4,540,000
Hayti, - -	2,246,000	2,270,000
South American countries, then Spanish colonies,	1,114,000	1,037,000
Hans Towns and Germany,	990,000	2,132,000
Brazil, - -	605,000	1,381,000
China, - -	3,111,000	4,290,000
British East Indies,	1,530,000	1,966,000
British West Indies,	927,000	265,000

The following detailed view of the imports by America from different countries (including the colonies of each) is drawn from Mr Seybert's Statistical Tables :—

From *Russia*, 432 lbs. wax; 179,000 lbs. iron, (anchors and sheet;) 52,000 lbs. tarred cordage; 23,000 cwt. hemp; 600 squares of 100 feet of glass; other articles, value 532,000 dollars.

From *Sweden*, 532,000 gallons spirits, (rum;) 126,000 gallons molasses; 107,000 lbs. coffee; 1,775,000 lbs. brown sugar; 10,600 lbs. cotton; 40,000 lbs. iron; 27,000 lbs. lead; 13,500 lbs. cable; 2500 lbs. steel; 25,000 bushels salt; 1300 squares of glass; other articles, value 880,000 dollars.

From *Denmark*, 587,000 gallons spirits; 836,000 lbs. coffee; 13,000 lbs. cocoa; 2,820,000 lbs. brown sugar; 1000 lbs. pimento; 49,000 lbs. iron; 69,000 lbs. cordage; 19,000 bushels salt; other articles, value 213,000 dollars.

From *Holland,* 430,000 gallons spirits; 16,000 gallons molasses; 341,000 lbs. brown sugar; 10,600 lbs. irons; 58,000 lbs. white and red lead; 200,000 bushels salt; 1400 squares glass; other articles, value 556,000 dollars.

From *Hamburgh,* 17,800 lbs. cordage; 399,000 bushels salt; 260 squares glass.

From *France,* 17,000 gallons wine; 960,000 gallons spirits; 1,607,000 gallons molasses; 17,000 lbs. tea; 1,179,000 lbs. coffee; 114,000 lbs. cocoa; 17,635,000 lbs. sugar; 35,000 lbs. almonds; 31,000 lbs. currants; 87,000 lbs. prunes; 27,000 lbs. raisins; 10,000 lbs. cheese; 16,000 lbs. soap; 7000 lbs. cinnamon; 20,000 lbs. cotton; 82,000 lbs. iron; 58,000 lbs. ochre; 9000 lbs. cordage; 8000 lbs. cables; 33,000 bushels salt; 23,000 squares glass; 6000 shoes; 68 packs cards; other articles, value 1,143,000 dollars.

From *Spain,* 31,600 gallons wines; 530,000 gallons spirits; 2,521,000 gallons molasses; 59,000 lbs. tea; 11,669,000 lbs. coffee; 16,666,000 lbs. sugar; 148,000 lbs. raisins; 67,800 lbs. soap; 60,900 lbs. tallow; 7000 lbs. cloves; 16,000 lbs. indigo; 18,000 lbs. cotton; 118,000 lbs. iron; 44,000 lbs. mercury; 89,000 lbs. paints; 3,814,000 bushels salt; 4,100,000 cigars; other articles, value 807,000 dollars.

From *Portugal,* 140,000 gallons wines; 130,000 gallons spirits; 125,000 gallons molasses; 122,000 lbs. tea; 604,000 lbs. brown sugar; 9500 lbs. figs; 81,000 lbs. raisins; 4300 lbs. soap; 4300 lbs. tallow; 2400 lbs. gunpowder; 1600 lbs. glue; 49,500 lbs. iron; 5,334,000 bushels salt; other articles, value 825,000 dollars.

From *Italy*, 11,900 gallons wine; 12,200 gallons spirits; 21,000 lbs. currants; 50,000 lbs. raisins; 76,000 lbs. soap; other articles, value 159,400 dollars.

From *China*, 2,150,000 lbs. tea; 1900 lbs. nutmeg; 56,000 lbs. cassia; 114,000 lbs. white and red lead; other articles, value 220,000 dollars.

From *Hayti*, 13,000 gallons wine; 16,700 gallons spirits; 46,000 gallons molasses; 2,911,000 lbs. coffee; 823,000 lbs. sugar; 8300 lbs. cotton; 14,600 lbs. indigo; 4800 lbs. salt; other articles, value 66,000 dollars.

From *all other countries*, (East Indies, Africa, &c.) 263,000 gallons spirits; 19,800 gallons molasses; 4300 gallons beer; 2,375,000 lbs. coffee; 1,603,000 lbs. sugar; 31,000 lbs. almonds; 714,000 lbs. currants; 59,000 lbs. figs; 212,000 lbs. raisins; 36,000 lbs. tallow candles; 436,000 lbs. wax and spermaceti candles; 14,700 lbs. nutmegs; 4100 lbs. cinnamon; 171,000 lbs. pepper; 2700 lbs. pimento; 34,000 lbs. indigo; 72,800 lbs. cotton; 28,000 lbs. gunpowder; 1600 lbs. glue; 127,000 lbs. iron, nails, &c.; 37,300 lbs. mercury; 17,400 lbs. white and red lead; 116,000 lbs. lead; 118,000 lbs. cordage; 16,000 lbs. cables; 25,200 bushels salt; 14,200 chaldrons coals; 4000 quintals dried fish; 11,700 pairs of shoes; 5600 packs cards; other articles, value 1,409,000 dollars.

The Convention assembled at Harrisburg, in the year 1827, consisting of the leading men connected with the commerce and manufactures of the United States, drew up the following statement of exports and imports for the year 1826:—

EXPORTS.

		Dollars.
Whale and other fish-oil,	652,000 gals.	183,000
Spermaceti candles,	836,280 lbs.	288,000
Staves, planks, &c.		2,011,000
Masts, spars, wood-work,		319,000
Naval stores,		254,000
Beef, (72,886 hds.) tallow, hides, &c.		733,000
Butter and cheese,	735,000 lbs.	207,000
Pork, (88,000 hds.) hams, &c.		1,892,000
Horses and mules,	3353,	247,000
Wheat,	45,000 bushels,	38,000
Flour,	858,000 barrels,	4,121,000
Indian corn,	505,000 bushels,	384,000
Ditto meal,	158,000 barrels,	622,000
Rye flour, &c.		144,000
Biscuit,		251,000
Rice,	111,000 tierces,	1,917,000
Cotton,	204,535,000 lbs.	25,025,000
Tobacco,	64,000 hds.	5,347,000
Hops,	388,000 lbs.	100,000
Wax,	474,000 —	206,000
Spirits from grain,	212,000 galls.	143,000
Molasses,	194,000 galls.	70,000
Candles,	2,062,000 lbs.	722,000
Snuff and tobacco,		210,000
Nails,	651,000	53,000
Iron manufactures,		121,000
Leather,		697,000
	Carry forward,	46,305,000

	Dollars.
Brought forward,	46,305,000
Hats,	272,000
Wooden fabrics,	631,000
Cotton,	1,138,000
Other articles about,	4,900,000
	53,246,000

	Tons.	
The tonnage employed in American trade was,		942,206
Of which British,	69,295	
French,	14,970	
Hanse Towns,	5855	
Swedish,	3664	
		105,654
Native,		847,860

IMPORTS.

	Dollars.
Hides and skins,	2,825,000
Furs,	338,000
Specie and bullion,	6,880,000
Copper,	1,087,000
Wood,	713,000
Manufactures of wool,	7,886,000
——— cotton,	8,348,000
——— silk,	8,104,000
Carry forward,	36,181,000

		Dollars.
	Brought forward,	36,181,000
Manufactures of flax,	-	2,987,000
——— hemp,	-	1,787,000
——— iron and steel,	-	2,831,000
——— leather,	-	410,000
——— glass,	- -	511,000
——— brass,	- -	332,000
——— wares,	- -	1,634,000
Laces,	- -	659,000
Wool, raw,	- -	449,000
Carpeting,	- -	545,000
Cotton, (bagging)	2,204,000 yds.	275,000
Wines,	- 3,436,000 gals.	1,781,000
Spirits,	- 3,718,000 —	1,587,000
Molasses,	- 13,843,000 —	2,838,000
Teas,	- 10,108,000 lbs.	3,752,000
Coffee,	- 37,319,000 —	4,159,000
Sugar,	- 84,902,000 —	5,311,000
Spices,	- -	594,000
Indigo,	- 1,151,000 —	1,979,000
Iron,	- -	2,620,000
Salt,	- 4,565,000 bush.	677,000
Paper,	- 1,216,000 lbs.	250,000
Hemp,	- 88,000 cwt.	551,000
Whole value imported,	-	74,794,000
Re-exported,	-	24,539,000
		50,255,000

The Convention drew up also the following esti-

mate of the entire products of American industry, which they maintain must be considered moderate, since it allows only 90 dollars to each person, in a country where labour is so highly paid :—

	Dollars.
Food and drink, -	249,000,000
Clothing, -	202,000,000
Horses' keep, -	75,000,000
Other agricultural products,	20,000,000
Products forest, -	200,000,000
Earthen fabrics, -	60,000,000
Mineral fabrics, -	120,000,000
Various staples for manufactures, -	100,000,000
Fisheries, -	40,000,000
	1,066,000,000

It is with regret we conclude by observing, that the commercial relations of Britain and the United States are at present in a very unsatisfactory position. Blame may have been incurred on both sides; but it is sufficiently obvious that at the present moment a thick darkness covers America respecting the most important questions of political economy. That restrictive and prohibitory system, the errors of which have been so fully exposed, and which, unless under the immediate impulse of warlike antipathies, has been banished from the enlightened councils of Europe, finds still credit with transatlantic statesmen. Indeed, we formerly observed that, however remark-

able the fact may appear, popular governments have shown very generally a principle of enmity to the principles of free trade. It appears from Fearon and Cooper that there has been much debate among American statesmen, if it was advisable that America should become a country of manufactures, and whether and what encouragement should be given to them. It is not stated as having ever occurred to either party to leave things to take their natural course, which would have guided them better than any legislative adjustment which human wisdom can contrive. The most unwise party has gained the ascendency, and a tariff has been fixed, imposing duties of about fifty per cent. on all articles of foreign produce and manufacture. As it has occasioned, however, an extensive and just discontent, and as its ill consequences must become always the more apparent, we may hope that more enlightened views will finally prevail on this important subject.

CHAPTER V.

PRESENT STATE OF CANADA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF BRITISH AMERICA.

General View of British America.—Canada.—Great Chain of Lakes.—Geological Structure.—Animals—Vegetables—Minerals.—Falls of Niagara.—Rapids.—Lower St Lawrence.—Social State.—The Habitans.—*Upper Canada.—Emigrants.—Cities, Quebec, Montreal, &c.—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.—Newfoundland.*

THE unfortunate contest in which Britain lost so many colonies the most flourishing and prosperous in the New World, left her still an immense territory, which more than equalled in extent the entire domain of the United States. The value, however, was much inferior. Its southern frontier, placed on the utmost verge of the temperate zone, passed rapidly into regions of stern and perpetual winter. The severe climate, indeed, of Lower Canada, and the long season during which it was buried in perpetual snow, gave the impression as if even this best part of British America could never become very va-

luable or productive. When the upper part of the St Lawrence, however, and the region on the lakes began to be explored, it was found to present a much milder and more agreeable climate, and a soil as fertile as any in the world; and though this favourable character was interrupted by the coasts of Lake Superior, and even the whole tract thence to the Winnipeg, yet far to the west, on the banks of the Red River, was found another extensive tract quite equal in climate and soil to Upper Canada. In the same latitude also was a segment cut off, as it were, from the territory of her old colonies, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, a peninsula enclosing another peninsula, countries which have a gloomy and foggy aspect, and labour under a reproach of sterility; yet on narrow inspection, in search of spots for emigration, they have been found to contain many beautiful and fertile tracts. Newfoundland is still held as belonging to Britain, though she admits other nations to some participation in that immense fishery, which constitutes its sole value. Still farther to the north, Britain possesses or claims Labrador, the coasts of Hudson's Bay, and the whole of those boundless plains which reach to the newly-discovered shores of the Northern Ocean,—an immeasurable tract, but which neither has nor promises any source of wealth, except from the crowds of valuable fur-bearing animals, which afford materials for the considerable trade already described.

The prominent natural feature of Canada consists in those mighty waters by which it is, from one extremity to the other, pervaded. Lake Superior is

undoubtedly the largest body of fresh water in the world, computed to be 500 miles in length and 1500 in circumference. The water is deep, pure, and transparent. South-east from this lake, and connected by a series of small lakes and channels, is Lake Huron, so called from the celebrated Indian nation who inhabited its banks. It forms an expanse second only to the Superior, being in its greatest dimensions 218 miles long and 180 broad, and in circuit about 750. From the western point of Lake Huron, and connected by a short and narrow channel, branches into the United States the long and narrow lake of Michigan, having only the breadth of 55 to the length of 260. The superfluous waters of Lake Huron, passing through Lake St Clair and several river-channels, spread into Lake Erie, nearly equal in length to Lake Michigan (230 miles,) but of varying breadth, and extending in an opposite direction, east and west. Out of Lake Erie flows northward the channel of Niagara, distinguished by the mighty fall down which it is precipitated, and soon spreading into the Ontario, the last and least in this chain of mighty lakes, but in itself forming a vast inland sea. Its direction, like that of Erie, is from west to east, and its dimensions are 170 feet by 60. Returning to the opposite extremity of the chain at Lake Superior, we find, stretching into the vast interior of North America, first a long chain of little lakes connected by narrow channels, and which combined form what in the early narratives, and even treaties, is called Long Lake. Next occur, still connected by the same channel, the larger expanses of Lake La Pluie, or Rainy

Lake, and the Lake of the Woods. Another channel of about 100 miles connects this last with the Winnipeg Lake, whose length from north to south is almost equal to the Superior, but in a few parts only it attains a breadth of 50 miles. The whole of this wonderful series of lakes, separated by such small intervals, may almost be considered as forming one inland sea. There is nothing exactly parallel to this in the rest of the globe. The Tzad, the great interior sea of Africa, does not equal the Ontario. The Caspian is considerably greater than any of these lakes, and, indeed, almost equal to the whole united. But the Caspian forms the final receptacle of many great rivers, among which the Volga is of the first magnitude. But the northern waters, after forming this magnificent chain of lakes, are still not exhausted, but issue forth from the last of them to form one of the noblest river-channels either in the old or new continent. This river, the St Lawrence, traverses the whole extent of Lower Canada, as the lakes have everywhere bordered and enclosed Upper Canada. From the point of its issue from Lake Ontario, unless where obstructed by falls and rapids, it receives vessels of great magnitude. There is a difficulty in tracing its origin, or at least which of the tributaries of Lake Superior is to be called the St Lawrence. The strongest claim seems to be made by the series of channels which connect all the great upper lakes, though, strictly speaking, till after the Ontario, there is nothing which can very properly be called a river. There are only a number of short canals connecting the different lakes, or rather se-

parating one immense lake into a number of great branches. It seems an interesting question how this northern centre of the continent, at the precise latitude of about 50°, should pour forth so immense and overwhelming a mass of waters; for through a great part of its extent it is quite a dead flat, though the Winnipeg, indeed, draws some tributaries from the Rocky Mountains. But the thick forests with which the surface is covered, the slender evaporation which takes place during the long prevalence of cold, and, at the same time, the thorough melting of the snows by the strong summer heat, seem to be the chief sources of this profuse and superabundant moisture.

The physical character of Canada consists, in a great measure, in a prolongation of the geological features of the United States, which extend across the St Lawrence and the lakes. The primitive formation which predominates in the Northern States reappears in the lower bank of the St Lawrence, under that stern and severe aspect peculiar to it, and rendered still more dreary by the severity of the climate, and the snow which covers it during the greater part of the year. Happily, at Cape *Tourment*, about thirty miles above Quebec, this rugged chain makes a movement into the interior, and leaves between it and the river a plain at first narrow, but varying through Lower Canada to a breadth between fifteen and thirty miles. On approaching the Ottawa and the frontier, it recedes still farther, and leaves an intervening plain of about sixty miles in breadth, which constitutes Upper Canada. It throws down, indeed, a branch or spur which touches Lake Ontario, between Kingston

and Brockville, but then resumes its usual direction, which it follows to the Falls of St Mary, between Lakes Huron and Superior. This level tract along the St Lawrence, and the large space enclosed between the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, belongs to the great calcareous plain of the west. It has all its characteristic features; limestone rocks, luxuriant fertility, waters everywhere filled with calcareous impregnations, copious deposits of gypsum and marl. In short, it is one of the finest countries in the world. The primitive chain, however, having touched the lake-boundary at the Falls of St Mary, adheres to it along the whole northern boundary of Lake Superior, which is composed of hills not very lofty, but rugged and barren, and scarcely affording any spots capable of cultivation. The same character of country, with even an excess of severity, is continued along the whole coast of the Little Lakes as far as the Winnipeg, and also along the whole eastern shore of that great expanse. The Winnipeg, however, forms the limit of the primitive and the calcareous formations on its western shore. Instead of dark rocks, frowning in rude and savage grandeur, appears a smiling plain covered with the richest vegetation. This tract, extending to the south, along the banks of the Red River, forms a continuation, every way equal in fertility, of the limestone plain of Kentucky. It is in fact a delightful and desirable region, and only retarded by its distance from markets from becoming one of the most prosperous settlements in the New World.

The climate of Lower Canada is marked by a win-

ter more severe and protracted than even that of the most northerly among the United States. It is the winter of Stockholm and Bergen, not of Paris, to which it corresponds in point of latitude. Mr Lambert, having passed a winter at Quebec, is able to trace its successive steps. At the end of October no snow had fallen, though the frost had become pretty sharp. The early part of November was marked by frequent alternations of rain and snow, with intervals of mild weather; but by the latter end of that month there set in a heavy continued fall of sleet and snow, which rendered it almost impossible to quit the house. The snow drifted to more than the height of a man, and reached even the garret-windows of the small houses, and the streets would have been impassable but for the hard labour of the inhabitants in preserving an open path between the houses and the pile of snow in the centre. This state of tempest continued till the middle or towards the end of December, when the scene entirely changed. The rough and boisterous atmosphere was succeeded by a fine, clear, frosty air, and a bright azure sky, scarcely ever obscured by clouds or fogs, which continued till Lady-day. A white monotonous surface of snow now covers the ground, and the roads, of which every ordinary vestige has been obliterated, are marked by boughs of fir and pine stuck up at short intervals. Now begins for the Canadian the season of gaiety. Unable to pursue any out-door labour, he spends it partly in feasting, partly in sweeping in his sleigh (sledge) and *cariole*, over the wide plain of snow. In this favourite amusement he is exposed without the genial effects

of exercise, to the keen and piercing cold, rendered more intense by the velocity with which he moves. To ward off these effects, recourse is had to ample clothing; the great-coat, lined with flannel or chamois, the fur-cap, or Shetland hose, are insufficient without a large buffalo-robe. This robe consists of the hide of the animal dressed, but with the hair still on it, and lined with green baize: scarcely any cold can penetrate through it.

The frost, meantime, is acting on the water as well as on the land. From Montreal to about forty-five miles above Quebec the channel of the St Lawrence is completely covered with large portions of ice detached from the main body, which float down past Quebec, and in their progress make a hollow crashing sound, which heightens the gloomy grandeur of this wintry scene. These masses being wedged in between the island of Orleans and the shore, form a compact body, over which the inhabitants can drive sledges with provisions for the supply of the city. The open breadth of the river is seldom and only for a short time frozen; yet the boatmen from the opposite side contrive to make their way across by dragging their canoes over the ice, and launching them whenever they come to open water.

In the month of March the depth of winter is passed. During this and the succeeding month, the sun shining clear is often intensely hot; its reflection from the snow is painful to the eyes, and even tans the complexion. Yet there is no general breaking up till about the middle of April. The ice in the higher parts of the stream then bursts with loud and awful reports, and comes floating down in prodigious

masses, bearing with it roots, branches, and trees which it has torn from the islands and shores in its progress. By the beginning of May the whole has usually cleared off, and the river may be safely entered by European vessels. On land, meantime, the rapid melting of the snow inundates both country and city, and the kennels in the streets of Quebec sound like cataracts. As soon as the ground is clear the most rapid vegetation commences. Nature, roused from her lethargy, hastens to exchange the hoary garment in which she had been so long invested for the bright and splendid robe of summer. In three weeks the trees are crowned with foliage, and the meadows adorned with the richest verdure. An abundant supply of vegetables and poultry relieves the inhabitants from the diet of salted and frozen meat to which they had been long confined.

Five months, from May to September inclusive, compose the spring, summer, and autumn of Canada; or rather the whole season is one continued summer; for the extremes of heat and of cold pass into each other with scarcely one intermediate step. After an Arctic winter the Canadians suffer all the inconveniences of a tropical summer. They are annoyed by swarms of flies in the interior of the houses, and of musquitoes and other venomous insects without. The heat is oppressive, and precaution is even necessary to defend themselves against a *coup de soleil.* The heat is sufficient to bring forward all the grains; but the wet, which often prevails in May and June, with the approach of frost in October, often obstructs

the operations of the husbandman in sowing and reaping.

Upper Canada enjoys a climate considerably milder and more agreeable than the lower country. From the direction of the St Lawrence, which both the settlements follow, it is two or three degrees farther south; but its climate is better than the coasts of the United States, that lie under the same latitude. The dense and gloomy fogs which the east wind brings from the ocean reach it in a very mitigated form. But the main cause seems to be the south-west wind, which comes, as they call it, down stream, and seems to be the same breeze which from the Gulf of Mexico blows over all the western territory, and renders that side of America milder than the eastern. Yet this wind, in passing over the lakes, contracts a degree of dampness which renders it sometimes rather unpleasant. On the whole, however, the climate of Upper Canada is considered extremely favourable both to health and longevity.

The animal and vegetable creations in Canada exhibit few features of distinction from the United States. The bear, the beaver, the wolf, the elk, the deer, the wild cat, the rattlesnake, are common to both. The marten and other fur-bearing animals, are more numerous and their covering richer; but it is from the more inland and northern tracts that the North-west Company draw those ample supplies by which they are enriched. The mocking-bird is heard in the Canadian forest, but not with the same rich variety of tone as in Virginia; and, in general, it is

observed by a late writer,—"One charm is wanting, and is sadly missed by the native Briton in America: there is no music in the sky, no chorus in the grove. The birds are mute in comparison with the feathered songsters of England." All the trees of the United States, including the sugar-maple, grow in this country. The pine is peculiarly abundant and valuable in Upper Canada. The juniper is also abundant; and though the peach comes to perfection only in certain districts, the apple possesses equal merit with that of New York.

The mineral riches of Canada are not remarkable, though good iron is found at different points, particularly at Charlotteville, near Lake Erie, but nowhere worked to any extent. The mountains, however, and especially that higher chain which forms the boundary of the province, have probably been subjected to very imperfect examination. The plain abounds with calcareous products,—gypsum, marl, pipe-clay, and clay suited for making bricks.

The waters of Canada, as they form the most important physical feature of the region, so they include the grandest phenomena which nature exhibits in any part of the North American continent. The Falls of Niagara, as to that class of objects, are without a known parallel on earth. There is no steep down which such a sea of waters is precipitated into such an abyss of foam, or whence such mighty clouds and columns of vapour ascend to the sky. This fall appears the more wonderful, as it does not rush from the bosom of a mountain-chain, or down stupendous rocks, like most of the cataracts of the Old World.

The tract, both above and below, consists of a vast dead level plain, covered with extensive forests. The banks a few miles above present a scene of the most profound repose, broken only by the distant sound of the cataract. This grand phenomenon seems connected with a general change of level in this part of the continent. The shores of Lake Erie, though flat, are elevated about 400 feet above those of Lake Ontario. The descent takes place in the short interval between the two lakes traversed by the Niagara channel. This descent is partly gradual, producing only a succession of rapids. It is at Queenston, about seven miles below the present site of the falls, that a range of hills marks the descent to the Ontario level. Volney conceives it certain that this must have been the place down which the river originally fell, and that the continued and violent action of its waves must have gradually worn away the rocks beneath them, and in the course of ages carried the fall back to its present position, from which it continues gradually receding. Mr Howison confirms the statement that, in the memory of persons now living in Upper Canada, a considerable change has been observed. The whole course of the river downwards to Queenston is through a deep dell, bordered by broken and perpendicular steeps, rudely overhung by trees and shrubs, and the opposite strata of which correspond; affording thus the strongest presumption that it is a channel hewn out by the river itself.

The Niagara river, which is sometimes considered a part of the St Lawrence, can scarcely be very strictly considered as a river at all, but rather as a grand na-

tural canal, by which the superabundant waters of Lake Erie are poured into the Ontario. At the critical point it is about three quarters of a mile broad, of great depth, and forms undoubtedly the greatest mass of waters that is poured down any fall either in the Old or the New World. Symptoms of it are discerned from a vast distance. From Buffalo, twenty miles off, two small fleecy specks are distinctly seen, appearing and disappearing at intervals. These are the clouds of spray rising from the falls; and it is even asserted that they have been seen from Lake Erie, at the distance of fifty-four miles. The sound appears also to have been heard at the distance of twenty or even forty miles; but these effects depend much on the direction of the wind and the tranquil or disturbed state of the atmosphere. Mr Weld mentions having approached within half a mile without hearing any sound, while the spray was but just discernible.

The view first taken of this wonderful phenomenon is usually from the Table Rock, a broad flat surface which projects above the water, and from which the eye commands at once the whole of this majestic amphitheatre of cataracts. The spectator, if his nerves are firm, may even lay himself flat, with his face projecting beyond, and look down upon this fearful and roaring abyss; nay, he may touch with his hand the water as it falls; for this rock is only a prolongation of that great ledge from which the stream is precipitated. The fall is then seen to be divided into two great portions, one of which is called the Horse-shoe, from its form, or the British fall, from the side of

the river on which it is situated; the other is called the Fort Schloper or the American. The first is 1200, the other 1100 feet broad; and the separation is made by the brow of Goat Island projecting forward, about 980 feet broad. The American fall is 165 feet in height, while the British is only 150; but the latter pours down a much greater mass of waters, and from it alone ascend those volumes of spray which mount so high into the air, and are seen to so vast a distance. The mind is at first stunned by the crowd of astonishing objects which here press upon it, and by the roaring of this tumultuous abyss, and time is required to distinguish the grandeur of each separate object. A host of pyramidal clouds are seen rising majestically, one after another, from the bottom of the abyss, each of which displays a momentary brilliant rainbow, which is covered by the cloud that immediately succeeds. The body of water in the middle part of the great fall is so immense, that it descends for two-thirds of the space smooth and unruffled, till it is dashed into the abyss of foam in the gulf beneath.

Travellers, who desired to view this wonderful phenomenon in every possible light, have sought a path to the bottom of the fall, whence they might look up to it from beneath. This was difficult; for the river is here bordered by broken cliffs almost perpendicular, whence trees are seen hanging by the roots with their heads downwards. In two places, however, where a great quantity of rocks and earth has fallen, ladders have been made to reach from one fragment to another, and a passage thus formed, by

which an adventurous spectator may reach the bank of the river. One, called the Indian Ladder, is extremely rude, formed merely by pine-trees, with notches cut in them for the feet to enter; but the other, called Mrs Simcoe's Ladder, from the governor's lady, under whose direction it was constructed, affords very tolerable footing, and is preferred by all sober-minded travellers. Here the banks are found encumbered by fragments of large trees, and by the bodies of fishes and wild animals which have been caught in the vortex, and impetuously borne down; while birds of prey, lured by the scent, hover around. When the spectator has gained a firm footing, and ventures to look up, he does not obtain so complete and comprehensive a view of the falls as from above; but their aspect is, in several respects, more sublime and imposing. He can more fully appreciate the vastness of the foaming cataracts, their tremendous sound, the terror of the impending precipice, and the boiling of the mighty flood. The sound becomes more deep and more awful. The iridescent colours are always seen floating amid the clouds of spray; but here, when the light is favourable, a magnificent rainbow spans the whole of this sea of vapour. Another opportunity is obtained by crossing the river a little way below the fall, while the stream is still heaving with the mighty agitation in which it has been involved, but has so far subsided as to allow a ferry to be established. Here the view upwards appeared to Mr Howison of the most surpassing grandeur. Majestic cliffs, splendid rainbows, lofty trees, and columns of spray, were the gorgeous decorations of this

theatre of wonders. Vast floods, dense, awful, and stupendous, were bursting over the precipice, and rolling down as if the windows of heaven were opened to pour another deluge on the earth. Loud sounds, resembling discharges of artillery, or volcanic explosions, were distinguishable amid the watery tumult, and added terrors to the abyss from which they issued.

Another very striking position is when the observer goes to the foot of the rock from which the fall descends, and obtains a side-view of it. The rock has been hollowed out beneath, while it projects at top, and the water is thrown forward by its own impetuous action; the result of all which is an arched and awful concavity formed between the stream and the rock. A daring visitor has even advanced for some yards into this fearful cavern, and it has been supposed that even the entire circuit of it might be rounded; but the deep and fearful darkness, the clouds of spray, the rugged and slippery rocks, and the thunder above, as if all the elements were descending to crush him, will probably deter even British daring from attempting such an achievement.

The Niagara channel, after subsiding from this state of sublime agitation, rolls in a smooth and unruffled channel, till it loses itself in the mighty expanse of the Ontario. This inland-sea, though the smallest of the great chain with which it is connected, is of such extent, that vessels in crossing it lose sight of land, and must steer their way by the compass; and the swell is often equal to that of the ocean. From the eastern extremity of this lake issues forth the river which is finally and decidedly the St Law-

rence; and its course continues to be diversified by a succession of striking and even perilous phenomena. It flows first in that broad channel called the Lake of the Thousand Islands, from the feature which the name expresses. This name has been supposed to be the vague exaggeration of a great number; but those who have attempted enumeration are satisfied that it is much underrated. These islands are of every imaginable size, from that of a little boat to an extent of fifteen acres, and are equally various in form and aspect. All are more or less wooded, and their face towards the water consists generally of picturesque forms of rock. The voyage through them presents quite an enchanted scene, changing every moment, and which reminded Mr Howison of the description of the Happy Islands in the Vision of Mirza. Sometimes the bateau with difficulty makes its way through narrow channels, when suddenly there opens a sheet of water only bounded by the horizon; sometimes twelve different channels, like so many noble rivers, open unexpectedly on the eye.

The Thousand Isles are followed after a short interval by the Rapids, which continue down to Montreal. These are produced in general by a contraction in the bed of the river, and by numerous islands and rocks which hem the stream within narrow and obstructed passages. Thus pent up, it chafes with prodigious violence, dashes furiously against the rocks, or sweeps round them with the velocity of a whirlpool. Even where the stream is smoothest its aspect is like that of a sea which has been agitated by a tempest of contrary winds. The first Rapid is

called by the French the *Long Sault*, and its chief danger consists in the excessive acceleration of the stream, narrowed by an island in the centre. Yet while the boat is carried along at the rate of ten miles an hour, the channel is as smooth as glass, and the vessel might be supposed lying at anchor, but for the rapidity with which objects on the shore disappear. At length appear the tops of white breakers, forming what is called the Big Pitch, which is produced at the termination of the island, when the two currents which have flowed along its opposite sides encounter, and dash their roaring billows against each other. After the Long Sault the stream widens into the Lake St Francis, where it has a broader and clearer channel, though not free from dangerous eddies; but at the opposite end commences a series of most perilous rapids, called the Coteau du Lac, the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades. These rapids continue almost without interruption for nine miles, during which the river, covered with rocks and breakers, presents the appearance of a tempestuous ocean; and some have considered the scene as rivalling in grandeur that of Niagara. The Cascades present the most awful aspect, being formed by a steep descent with hidden rocks, down which the daring Canadian boatmen can shoot their vessels, but which cannot be ascended without the aid of a canal, laboriously constructed for the purpose. The Coteau du Lac, however, is considered still more dangerous from the numerous hidden rocks which obstruct the passage. Below the Cascades the small Lake of St Louis extends to La Chine, the place of

embarkation for the bateaux from Montreal. A tremendous scene is presented at the eastern part of this lake, where the St Lawrence, and its grand tributary the Ottawa, rush down at once, and meet in dreadful conflict. The swell is then equal to that produced by a high gale in the British Channel, and the breakers so numerous, that all the skill of the boatmen is required to steer their way. The Canadian boatmen, however, are among the most active and hardy races in the world, and they have boats expressly constructed for the navigation of these perilous channels. The largest of these, called, we know not why, the Durham Boat, is used both here and in the Rapids of the Mohawk. It is long, shallow, and nearly flat-bottomed. The chief instrument of steerage is a pole ten feet long, shod with iron, and crossed at short intervals with small bars of wood like the feet of a ladder. The men place themselves at the bow, two on each side, thrust their poles into the channel, and, grasping successively the wooden bars, work their way towards the stern, thus pushing on the vessel in that direction. At other times, by the brisk and vigorous use of the oar, they catch and dash through the most favourable lines of current. In this exhausting struggle, however, it is needful to have frequent pauses for rest, and in the most difficult passages there are certain positions fixed for this purpose, which the Canadians call *pipes*.

Below Montreal, the St Lawrence displays no longer these bold and peculiar features, but becomes a magnificent channel, widening gradually into an estuary, and admitting vessels of the largest dimension. The

shores are considered by Mr Weld to exhibit a more fruitful and smiling aspect than those of any river in the United States, the Hudson not excepted; and the numerous villages, each with its church and steeple, inspire the idea of comfort and population. The views from and around Quebec are very magnificent. The bold, though not very lofty rocks and heights, the broad expanse of the river, the profusion of natural woods, unite all the sublime features of nature on a grander scale than in almost any other part of America.

Near Quebec are two highly picturesque falls,—those of Montmorenci and of La Chandiere. The former is at a very small distance from the junction of the stream with the St Lawrence. It is a mountain-torrent of no remarkable magnitude, especially when compared with the mighty flood into which it is poured; but it falls from the height of 240 feet, and, being broken and spread out by the rocks jutting out from the face of the precipice, it presents a considerable extent of surface. The water in its descent is converted into one unbroken sheet of foam white as snow; while from beneath rise clouds of spray, which, when illumined by the sun, reflect the prismatic colours in all their variety and lustre. The contrast of this brilliant whiteness with the dark foliage of the firs and other evergreens which spring from the cleft, gives it an appearance so pleasing and romantic, that Mr Silliman considers it the most beautiful waterfall in all North America. Yet many consider the Chandiere as more deserving of admiration. It is surrounded by a mighty primeval forest

of pine, fir, ash, oak, and various other trees and shrubs intermingled, which, in combination with piles of broken rocks, produce the wildest and most romantic scenes. The body of water is much more ample; but it does not fall in one brilliant sheet; the rocks in the most picturesque forms shoot through it like islands. The height is 120 feet, and the breadth 360.

In proceeding to consider the social system in Lower Canada, we find it presenting features that are quite peculiar to itself. It is a French colony; the manners, the language, the people are French; they have remained a race and a caste by themselves, holding scarcely any communion with the English settlers; and yet, while the children sprung from her bosom have shaken off all the ties of union, and view her with a jealous and scowling aspect, this alien race rank among the most loyal and attached subjects of the British crown. In a former portion of this work we have seen the origin of French settlement in Canada, and the efforts made to raise it to a colony of the first magnitude, and to open through it a communication with the most interior regions of the continent. These aims did not fully succeed; but still, all things considered, they raised it to a respectable rank. The great maritime war between the two nations, however, could not fail to extend to their colonies. The superiority of Britain by sea, the greater magnitude of her American possessions, to say nothing of the valour of her troops, gave her always a decided advantage. Canada, after being several times overrun by arms, was restored

by treaty. But in the war of 1756, guided by the genius of Pitt, the British arms acquired a more decided superiority than ever. The victorious attack of Wolfe on Quebec, sealed by his glorious death, fixed Canada as a part of that great American empire which was secured to Britain by the peace of 1763. A candid American writer has admitted, that there never was a conquered people more kindly and more mildly treated than the people of conquered Canada. All their institutions, however foreign to those of Britain and of her colonies, were preserved entire; their laws of property and succession were continued; their worship was protected. It has even been said, that Britain supported a Catholic establishment in Canada; but, by a late explanation in the North American Review, it appears merely that authority is given to levy tithes applicable to their maintenance. The whole has been crowned with a boon, of which the colonists had no experience or idea; a representative constitution, nearly similar to that of Britain. Such has been the influence of this benignant system, that in the dark crisis, when Britain lost all her other colonies, this one remained faithful; and at a more recent period, when America took advantage of the embarrassed situation of Britain, to commence a war, of which the main and seemingly assured aim was the conquest of Canada, the population of that country, strong in native courage and loyalty, rose and repelled the superior numbers of their invaders. Since that time it is painful to remark, that some dark clouds have gathered over this brilliant horizon. Discontents have fermented; and questions have been

mooted, the same through which thirteen colonies were formerly lost. On a political question so distant, and so darkened by party-spirit and personal feeling, it is not our wish at present to enlarge. We observe with pleasure, that government have resolved to follow a conciliatory course, and that some points which have excited the present contention will be conceded. Meantime, it seems greatly too much to assert, with some politicians, that the attachment of the Canadians to Britain, so recently and so conspicuously displayed, has suffered any deep or lasting alienation.

The population of Lower Canada is stated in the late report to Parliament on the civil government of that country, at 423;373; of which 334,272 are French, 86,110 English, and 2991 Indians. The French, who form thus so decidedly the bulk of the population, are called *habitans*, and, as already observed, have in no degree mixed with the English inhabitants, but have retained all their laws and customs unaltered. Their lands are held under feudal tenure, or what is called the *coutume de Paris*. This forms a sort of perpetual lease, subject to the payment of certain dues to the superior. The annual dues in these *fiefs* are in general very moderate, and consist often in no more than ten shillings, a capon, and a bushel of wheat. The most onerous to the one party and profitable to the other is on occasion of sale or transference, when the superior claims a fifth of the purchase; and though the payment is sometimes evaded to its full extent, yet it frequently happens, that farms which yield scarcely any annual income, bring considerable sums into the coffers of

the feudal successor. The rights of succession to fiefs are not on the strict principle of primogeniture: the eldest son takes the mansion-house and half the property, while the rest is divided among the younger branches. By this arrangement property has become much subdivided, and great fortunes have become rare. There exists also, in regard to property, a salic law, which is attended often with odd and inconvenient effects. The wife is understood to have a joint right with her husband to every species of possession; whence it follows, that no part can be alienated without her concurrence. Even the sale of a house has often been stopped by the *veto* of the lady till her consent was obtained by courtesy or presents. Again, in case of the wife's death, the children are considered as entitled to their inheritance of her half of the property; and in some cases they are said to have ruined the father by insisting on his paying it up.

Mr Lambert has observed more closely than any other traveller the manners of the *habitans*. They appear to be little farmers, retaining still the manners of the old French school. When two carmen meet on the streets they take off their caps and make low bows to each other. Sometimes the men kiss each other; but this practice is not general. The female peasantry occasionally wear hair-powder, and rouge themselves with beet-root. Along with this somewhat fantastic exterior, there is said to prevail a great deal of real harmony and courtesy; and when not drunk, their deportment is friendly and inoffensive. Several generations often live together under

the same roof, without any unfriendly collision. A peculiar physiognomy distinguishes the *habitant*. A long and thin visage, a complexion so deeply sunburnt as to be sometimes darker than that of the Indian; small, dark, and lively eyes, prominent nose, thin lips, projecting chin; these are the features which distinguish five-sixths of the Canadian French. The dress is plain, both as to form and materials. That of the men consists chiefly in a long cloth coat or frock, tied with a worsted sash, and on their head a *bonnet rouge*, while the hair is tied in a long queue behind. Among the elderly ladies many still adhere to costumes a century old; long waists, full caps, and large clubs of hair behind. In their domestic system they are imbued with old principles of frugality and economy, making it a rule to produce and to do every thing possible within themselves. They rear their own houses, generally of logs smoothed, with only one story of three apartments, and a loft or storeroom above. They build also their barns, stables, and ovens, and make their own carts, ploughs, and canoes. Their flax is formed into linen; the wool of their sheep into cloths, stockings, and bonnets; their hides are tanned into boots and mocassins; while their straw is shaped into summer hats. This eager anxiety and care in the preserving of money is not united with much spirit or enterprise in obtaining it. They embark with reluctance in any speculative or commercial transactions; they tread on in the steps of their forefathers, declining all participation in modern improvements, even those which they see used with the greatest advantage by the English settlers.

The severe and even contracted economy of the *habitans* is not unaccompanied with that love of gaiety and entertainment which is congenial to the French character. Even the poorest Canadian farmer has his cariole, or little chaise, placed upon steel runners, in which he drives over the winter snows to parties at the houses of his neighbours. After the long fast of Lent especially they have their *jours gras*, as they are termed, when parties of from fifty to a hundred are assembled, and every delicacy which their farms can furnish is spread upon the board. The table groans beneath immense turkey-pies, huge joints of pork, beef, and mutton, and an abundance of fruit-pies. On these dishes the guests regale themselves heartily, with mirth and jollity, and amid copious libations of rum; but scarcely has the repast closed, when the violin strikes up, and the dance begins. The marriages of the Canadians are also celebrated by a mighty concourse of friends and acquaintances. Carioles, or calashes, to the number of twenty or thirty, pour in from all quarters to church, bringing families to witness the ceremony; and in towns the new-married couple often parade the streets in the afternoon with a procession of their friends. This gaiety, however, is not generally, in the country districts at least, accompanied with any irregularity of manners. The *habitans* marry early, have great numbers of fat chubby children; and the females, engaged in hard country-work, soon lose every appearance of beauty or delicacy which their early youth may have afforded. The case is otherwise in towns, where the opulent superiors reside, and spend their time in

an almost perpetual round of extravagance and dissipation. The love of dress, and habits of coquetry, as prevailing in the young ladies, are especially animadverted upon; travellers noticing, in particular, a custom of sitting at the window, with the view of attracting admirers. The constant residence of a number of military officers does not doubtless tend to improve the public morals. Some celebrate the society of Quebec and Montreal as remarkably gay and agreeable; while others remark, that the gaiety consists chiefly in feasting and dancing, without any refined or intellectual accompaniments.

There appears to be a peculiar deficiency of learning and education in Canada. The French government, while it held possession, acting upon the jealous principles of an absolute monarchy, discouraged literature, and even prohibited the use of printing. The Romish clergy also were little disposed to promote the general diffusion, among the people, even of elementary instruction. The *habitant*, unaccustomed to consider reading as a necessary attainment, and unwilling to incur the expense, leaves his children in the same ignorance in which he himself has passed through life. Even the national legislators, in Mr Lambert's time, were not only eminently deficient in the powers of oratory, but destitute, in many cases, of the most elementary knowledge; so that he conceives that the character of that august assembly would be elevated, if the members, before taking their seats, were required to give proof, though on a small scale, of their capacity to read and write. There were understood not to be wanting members unable

to sign their own name. All this, however, is now much altered and amended. Several members of assembly, in the recent discussions, have displayed very considerable talent; and the house have shown a very laudable zeal to provide for the education of the body of the people. For many years after the conquest, the literature of Canada was confined to an almanack; but six newspapers have since been added, of which four are French, and one opposition. The book-stores of Montreal and Quebec still do not indicate any general diffusion of the taste for reading.

The *habitans*, as French, are Catholics, and scrupulously observant of the duties of that religion. As naturally happens however in an unenlightened circle, they are superstitious even as Catholics, and their attention is more attracted by the physical and sensible objects of worship than by any elevated or spiritual ideas. Their houses are filled with little pictures of the Madonna and child, and with waxen images of saints and crucifixes; and even the approach to Canada is announced by crosses erected on the road. An English gentleman being at supper with a *habitant*, complained of the want of light, when his host took a candle out of a box and lighted it; but the wife entering immediately after, raised screams of rage and dismay, exclaiming, that this was the consecrated candle by which alone the house was preserved from destruction! Another lady, on occasion of a violent thunder-storm, caused the windows to be shut, and, by a copious sprinkling of holy water, undertook to preserve the family from the danger without. The storm ceased, and she was

exulting in the success of her efforts, when the windows being opened, it was discovered, with some dismay, that she had by mistake made use of the ink-bottle. Mr Duncan saw in a convent an altar dedicated "au coeur de notre Seigneur." Above it was the painting of a human heart encircled with thorns and pierced with nails, while over it hung a sheet of paper, on which was inscribed "Coeur de notre Seigneur, priez pour nous."

The religious teachers in Lower Canada last year were stated to the house by Mr Neilson, as amounting to two hundred and seventy-five Catholic, thirty-four church of England, and seven Scotch Presbyterian. The former, who constitute so great a majority, are said to be diligent in their duties, of exemplary lives, and not without some share of education.

The social system in Upper Canada is composed of quite different materials. Under French rule, the settlements consisted merely of Detroit, Michimillimac, and a few other posts established with a view to carrying on the fur-trade with the interior. Little more was attempted by Britain for a considerable time after this northern province was attached to her possessions. The real commencement of the peopling of Canada was made by the American war. The loyal party, or that which adhered to their mother-country, forfeited their all, and were, moreover, exposed to that violent treatment, of which we have seen examples in the narrative of Smith. The government at home were thus strongly called upon to make every possible compensation to these sufferers. One resource was the granting to them lands in Upper Ca-

nada, a country then lying unoccupied, but of which the value had become better known in the course of the military operations of which it had been the theatre. This situation was acceptable, as being the nearest that could be had to the scene of their former residence; and after the violence of political animosity had subsided, old ties of friendship and relationship, rent by civil contention, began to revive. Their friends on the other side of the Niagara began to exchange visits; and the reports which were then given of the abundance and excellence of the land, which could be obtained on easy terms, drew a continuous tide of emigrants, and caused Upper Canada to assume the character of an inhabited region. The grand accession, however, has been derived from that spirit of emigration which, from well-known causes, has become so strong in Europe during the last twenty years. The contributions have been chiefly from one part of the United Kingdom. When Mr Lambert was in Canada, in 1810, there were scarcely any English and few Irish. The emigration of these nations generally arose from or was combined with political discontent; or it was with a view to farming operations on a large scale, which generally proved unfortunate, but which could only succeed in more smiling and southern districts. It was by Scottish emigrants that the unoccupied lands in Upper Canada were in a great measure filled. The change in the landed system of the Highland proprietors, the introduction of the modern husbandry, and of sheep-farming on a large scale, threw many of their old tenants and retainers out of the home of their ancestors. These un-

fortunate exiles were no converts to the modern doctrines of liberty and equality, no admirers of the republican institutions of America; they cherished the warmest attachments to their country and kindred, and sought a situation which might differ as little as possible from that what they had left. Even the supposed rigour of the climate, an exaggerated report of which had alarmed the occupant of the fine southern plains of England, was congenial to him whose dwelling had been on the rugged sides of Ben-Nevis and Cairngorm. The recommendation, example, and aid of Lord Selkirk, directed and promoted this spirit; and the plan in which he led the way, of proceeding in united bodies, enabled the Highlanders to preserve entire those kindred ties to which they are so strongly attached. It was even exceedingly convenient for emigrants who went out with so slender a capital, that, instead of having to pay two or three dollars an acre, fifty or a hundred acres of land could be had for a fee of not more than five pounds. Government, justly appreciating the importance of at once relieving the severe pressure of distress at home, and filling up a valuable colony, have invited successive bodies of emigrants by the boon of a free passage, rations for six or eight months, agricultural implements, and a grant of a hundred acres of good land either in Upper or Lower Canada. They have, however, directed their steps chiefly to the upper territory, where they have created the Perth, Glengarry, and other settlements. With the exception of a few complaints as to the jobbing of agents, they have reported themselves satisfied with their treatment

and condition. It is supposed that Upper Canada has received from Britain and the United States together an annual influx of ten thousand new settlers. In 1783 it was not supposed to contain more than ten thousand in all. In 1803, Heriot perhaps overrated the inhabitants at 80,000, for a pretty careful enumeration, made in 1811, gave only 83,000. In 1817, Mr Gourlay, seemingly on pretty fair conjectural grounds, made up an estimate of 134,000. If we suppose since that time an annual emigration of ten thousand, and that increase, by natural causes, which usually marks a new colony, the present population ought to exceed 200,000.

The Canadian colonist of Upper Canada, when he has passed the few first years of his somewhat severe novitiate, finds himself in a state of comfort and even plenty much preferable to that of the labouring poor at home. He has cleared probably thirty or forty acres, on which he raises an ample supply of grain, while the rest of his domain affords him wood and pasture. He has had the means of converting his original log-hut into a dwelling of tolerable comfort. The interior shows a picture of abundance; large loaves of fine wheaten bread, bags of Indian corn, whole pigs hanging round the chimney, dried venison, and large bowls of milk. He occupies also a more conspicuous place in society. Men are valued in proportion to their scarcity, and in a thinly-peopled district one neighbour is a greater personage than elsewhere in the eyes of another. The principles of equality established in the United States have found their way into this settlement, and

show themselves, not by the abolition of conventional titles, but by the indiscriminate application of them to all classes. The Highland cotter or Paisley weaver is not a little surprised to hear the terms, Master, Sir, Ma'am, Lady, applied to him and his wife, and, when he has recovered from the apprehension of its being a quiz, feels his self-importance elevated. At the same time this situation is unfavourable to any real refinement either of manners or habits. Order and cleanliness, which have never ranked among the many good qualities of the Scottish peasant, suffer a farther declension in circumstances which afford so little motive for the study of appearances. The domestic economy is in many instances conducted on a very coarse and slovenly footing; confused heaps of lumber for fuel, mingled with rubbish, are piled around the houses, while the windows, in which many broken panes have been repaired, not with glass, but with pieces of old hat or cloth, admit light only by a few scanty segments. The absence of subordination, of society, of almost all things by which civilized life is promoted and maintained, induces a sort of a barbarizing process, and generates rough and turbulent habits. Pugilistic contests are said to be frequent and fierce, though not marked by those very dreadful excesses which disgrace similar conflicts in the American Union. "Distance from neighbours, from churches, from books, from schools, from newspapers," takes away all stimulus to intellect and thought, and tends to sink the mind into a sluggish and torpid state. Mr Howison particularly deplores an obstinate and in-

veterate contentment, both as to their condition and attainments, which affords a very slender hope of any speedy improvement. In a report by one of themselves it is admitted, that "rousing up" is a thing much wanted by the natives of Upper Canada, and that they have only a small portion of that stir and enterprise which distinguish their neighbours on the opposite side of the inland-waters.

The religious arrangements of Upper Canada are not quite satisfactory. A most ample and indeed rather excessive provision has been made for the maintenance of a future establishment, by appropriating to it a seventh of the lands in every located district. But as lands can scarcely be leased in Canada, the reserves as yet yield little or nothing, and lie nearly waste. Ten years ago government supported only six episcopal clergymen in Canada. Although there were a greater number of teachers of other denominations, yet the entire supply was very scanty. Between Niagara and Ancaster, a distance of fifty miles, Mr Howison found only two places where divine service was regularly performed; and west of Ancaster the nearest church was at two hundred miles' distance. The Sabbath is thus little distinguished from other days, and many of those even who abstain from labour make it a day of idleness and amusement. The happy effects produced at home by its devotion to religious duties are thus lost. A great proportion of the people are said to grow up unbaptized. Government have of late taken some steps to remedy this evil. In 1827 there were thirty-two episcopalian clergymen, with

an archdeacon at their head, subject to the bishop of Quebec. It is, however, a subject seemingly of just complaint, that the support of government is exclusively given to this church, which comprises a very small minority of the actual population. The most numerous sects are Methodists and Baptists, both come from the United States, and tinctured with the extravagances there observable; yet they alone prevent many districts from having no religion at all. The Presbyterians are a growing and respectable body; they have six congregations in connexion with the church of Scotland, and twelve of seceders from that church. Considering the Presbyterian as the established religion of that part of the united empire which has contributed most largely to the population of Canada, there cannot be a question that it has a fair claim to share in the funds devoted to the support of religion. Mr Neilson mentions also congregations of Independents, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, though none of them very numerous. A college has been founded at York in Upper Canada, invested even with the privileges of a university; but here too it is observed, that the same exclusive spirit prevails. It is governed by a chancellor, which office is held *ex officio* by the archdeacon, and by a council of seven professors, who must all be members of the church of England, and subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. It forms therefore a species of close borough, in which the predominance of this form of religion is completely secured.

Industry, wealth, and population, have not made that rapid and brilliant progress in Canada which has

been so conspicuous in the United States. They are checked by various causes. The feudal tenure by which lands are held in Lower Canada, though agreeable to the peculiar ideas of the actual occupants, is considered by others as highly inconvenient, and these lands are left thus in the hands of the *habitans*, who, though a careful and industrious race, are actuated by little spirit of improvement. Hence Mr M'Gillvray observes, that the value of lands in the upper provinces, notwithstanding its greater distance from a market, is higher than in the lower; and lands of similar quality, which on the American side of the line are scarcely saleable at one shilling, on the American side bring ten, twelve, or fifteen shillings. According to Mr Mairns, lands, even in Upper Canada, with the exception of a particular line from the frontier to Kingston, do not bear a fourth of the value of those in the opposite territory of New York. Many circumstances here concur to check improvement. Immense grants of land, the future value of which was not known or considered, have been made to individuals on account of favour or service. Even in the granted and located districts called the Concessions, two-sevenths are retained, one for the government, and the other for the church. These lands are indeed tendered to the public at very moderate rents; but in America no one thinks of a lease where the land itself can be had for little or nothing. These tracts, therefore, remain as deserts, occupying some of the most desirable soils and situations, and checquering the cultivated lands, whose communications they interrupt, and whose tenants they deprive of the advan-

tages derived from an improved neighbourhood. The Canada Company, however, have made a spirited attempt to remove this evil. They have purchased the crown-reserves, amounting to 1,400,000 acres, and half of the church-reserves, making 840,000 acres, for which they are to pay annual instalments of £15,000 for fifteen years. These they sell out to emigrants at ten shillings an acre, advancing the means of settlement, which, with the price, are to be repaid in the course of a certain number of years. This undertaking, which sprung up at the era when joint-stock companies were so lavishly adventured, was perhaps on too vast a scale; otherwise it may prove highly commodious to individuals, and beneficial to the public and to the colony. We find it, moreover, stated, however, that Scottish emigrants are not distinguished by that bold and stirring spirit of speculation which animates the Americans to carry on a new settlement with such vigour, though it sometimes involves them in hazard and ultimate loss. The Highlanders in particular, though they begin their task with briskness, are liable to a premature satisfaction as soon as they see themselves secure of bare necessaries, which slackens all their efforts in pressing forward to opulence and refinement. The Upper Canadians consider themselves as suffering from the want of a seaport, both Quebec and Montreal belonging to the lower province. The two Canadas having separate States and legislatures, one holds as it were the key of the other, and imposes transit-duties on all goods that come up the river. These duties paid by the higher province, ought, it is contended, to have

entered into its treasury, and been employed in promoting its internal improvement. The Upper Canadians also conceive, that a great commercial town, attached to and forming the capital of their State, would feel a much greater zeal in promoting all undertakings for its improvement, than when viewing it as a neighbour, and perhaps in some degree a rival. With this view it has been proposed, and even urged, that Montreal should be annexed to Upper Canada; and Mr Horton, the colonial secretary, though sensible that this arrangement would be very unpalateable to the lower province, expresses an inclination to promote it, and to brave all the odium which would be encountered by such a measure. The union of the whole into one State would afford the most radical remedy; but this is so opposed by dissimilar character and habits, and by many prejudices and interests, that the boldest politician seems afraid to hazard it.

Canada, within the limits above described, is a very fertile region. It yields in almost equal abundance and excellence the best productions of the middle and northern States of America. Wheat, the grain of the finest temperate climates, and maize, almost a tropical grain, are fully ripened by the strong heat of its summer. The sugar-maple affords almost to every farmer within himself a full supply of that article of luxury. The grounds in general have been heavily-timbered, and open prairies are much more rare than in the valley of the Mississippi. This involves much greater labour in the first instance; but the ground once cleared, the deciduous leaves, which have

mixed with the soil during so many ages, are found to have communicated to it an almost inexhaustible depth of fertility. Some of these vegetable soils have yielded rich crops for twenty successive years, without any appearance of exhaustion. The farming is all conducted on a small scale, and with little skill. The old settlers adhere to the usages of their forefathers, and repel all idea of improvement, while the new emigrants arrive often without any idea of farming at all. A judicious rotation of crops, and the use of gypsum as a manure, are only beginning to be introduced.

Of manufacture, almost the only vestige appears to be among the *habitans;* the more sober part of whom clothe themselves in substantial homespun, the produce of their own flax and fleeces, and endeavour to have all things within themselves; but this is obviously foreign to the very idea of manufacture on a great and national scale. Even though furs be the special product of Canada, the London furriers are said to make more out of the same quantity, and to give them a much more brilliant gloss than those of Quebec.

The commerce of Canada consists, like that of the United States, and in a degree still more complete, of the exchange of the raw produce of land for the manufactured produce of more improved countries. This state of things is likely long to continue, since it is not thwarted, as in the United States, by political motives and national jealousies. In this view, however, the British government have made extraordinary efforts

to force the timber-trade of her American possessions. In 1814, while the load of fir timber from the Baltic paid a duty of £3 : 4 : 11, that from British America paid only 2s. 4½d.; and though, in 1821, the one was reduced to £2, 15s., and the other raised to 10s., the encouragement afforded was still very ample. The American timber, as compared with the Baltic, is soft, well-veined, and susceptible of a good polish; so that for walls, the surface of floors, or ornamental purposes, it is even preferable; but for all those parts of a fabric which require strength, it cannot be employed with advantage. The timber for the British market is not furnished by the settlers, nor does the sale even assist in clearing the lands. It is procured by a rough and hardy race, who devote themselves to that especial object, in which they encounter the greatest hardships. They seek the swampy shores of the upper lakes, where the forests are most dense, and the trees grow to the greatest height. The time when they cut them down is in spring, when they are often up to the knees in water; and they select only one tree out of six or seven as fit for the British market. These trees are compacted into rafts of most huge dimension, enclosed with a railing, and sheds raised in the interior for the residence of the steersmen. They are moved forward partly by oars, partly, when the wind is favourable, by small sails, and they push with the greatest boldness and skill across the whole chain of the Rapids, though a considerable portion is dashed to pieces in this perilous navigation. On arriving at Quebec, they are ranged in long array

in front of the town, covering the river often for a space of five or six miles, till they can be broken up and embarked for England.

The quantity of timber imported into the united empire from Canada, in 1824, amounted to 386,400 loads of fir; 13,300 oak; 15,600 other wood; 4000 masts under 12 inches diameter; 3000 loads of masts above 12 inches diameter; 12,260 deals and deal-ends; 45,500 staves. The exports of British manufactures to Upper and Lower Canada in that year amounted to £739,000. The more recent commercial statements which I have been able to procure comprehend the whole of British North America.

The cities of Canada are not as yet on nearly the same scale, nor do they aspire to the same handsome and classical style of ornament as those of the Union. They can scarcely be surpassed, however, in the beauty and grandeur of their situation. That of Quebec is singular in the extreme, being partly on the top, partly at the foot of a precipitous cliff, which Mr Weld elevates to a thousand feet; but the more moderate and seemingly accurate estimate of Mr Lambert lowers it to three hundred and fifty. The communication is maintained by Mountain Street, answering to its name, which winds along the side of the cliff, forming always a steep, and even, if carelessly trodden, a dangerous descent. Indeed, so completely is the lower town overhung by this stupendous cliff, that, on the loosening of the ice, detached fragments often fall down, by which several of the inhabitants have been killed. The lower town is an assemblage of narrow, crowded, dirty streets, enclosed

between high houses, and through which loaded waggons, to and from the port, are continually dragged. The upper town is the seat of the government, the fortress, and of all that there is of fashion in Quebec. It is comparatively well-built and spacious, though without any edifices of the first rank. Round it are those strong fortifications which render Quebec the citadel of British America. They are necessary only for a part of its circuit, the rocky barrier securing against all approach on the side of the river. From this height is commanded a magnificent prospect over a vast scene of savage and cultivated nature; rocks, forests, and the river St Lawrence, now expanded to a broad estuary.

Montreal, more than three hundred miles above Quebec, can be approached by merchant vessels of the largest size, and magnificent steam-packets run between the two cities. It is situated at the extremity of a large island, looking down the river, while the mountain from which it takes its name rises behind in a swelling semicircular form. Montreal is represented as the most substantially-built city in the New World. The houses, instead of timber or brick, are composed of a dark limestone, which the neighbourhood furnishes abundantly, and the roofs being of tin, kept always clear and glittering, give to the whole a brilliant and somewhat gaudy effect. The streets are narrow and gloomy; but the great cathedral is considered by M. De Roos as the largest structure in North America, and cost £100,000. The views from the hill above the river are enchanting, exhibiting the channel of the St Lawrence, on one

side vast and smooth, on the other broken into a sea of rapids; the junction of the great flood of the Ottawa; the shipping, rafts, and various forms of river-craft; and the country to the north, peculiarly fertile and highly cultivated. Montreal carries on a great trade, which is always increasing with the prosperity of Upper Canada.

Kingston, the chief interior naval depot, and York, the seat of the office for disposing of land to emigrants, are both situated on the Ontario, and are the two capitals of Upper Canada; but they, as well as Prescott and Brockville, on the line of the Niagara navigation, are as yet only rising villages.

Great efforts have been made to improve by canals the communications of Upper Canada. The main principle has been to substitute the navigation of the Ottawa for that of the portion of the St Lawrence between Montreal and Lake Ontario, where the obstructions are so numerous and formidable. By the Rideau Canal, undertaken by government, it is proposed to join the Ottawa with Kingston, by connecting together a number of streams and lakes, so that only twenty miles of cutting are requisite. The estimated expense was £169,000, and in 1827 there had been expended £45,000. To connect then this line of navigation with the Lake St Louis, the Grenville Canal has been undertaken, which effects its object by a cutting of six miles, with three locks. The cost will be £110,000, of which, in 1827, there had been expended £65,000. These works have been undertaken by government in a great degree with reference to military objects; and we even observe

Mr M'Gillvray, in his recent evidence, give it as his opinion that vessels will still prefer the old and spacious though obstructed route of the St Lawrence.

Nova Scotia, next to Canada, is the most important and improved of all the colonies which remain to Great Britain. It forms with New Brunswick a sort of exterior angle of the territory of the United States; and the deep Bay of Fundy, with the opposite Gulf of St Lawrence, forms it into a peninsula, joined to the continent by an isthmus of only about twenty miles in breadth. There is scarcely any colony respecting which more gloomy impressions at first prevailed. It has been viewed as a barren and dreary region, enveloped in dense and almost perpetual fogs. The author of "General Description of Nova Scotia" (Halifax, 1825,) maintains that this conclusion is very hasty and very partial. The fog is said to be in a great measure confined to Halifax and some other places on the Atlantic coast; while in the interior and in the Bay of Fundy, the sky, with the exception of a month or two in spring, during which the east winds prevail, is usually clear and serene. The seas, which almost entirely surround it, temper those violent extremes of heat and cold to which the rest of America is liable. By a table of summer and winter temperatures it appears that the former never rose above 88°, seldom above 80°, while the latter never sunk below 5°, and seldom lower than 10°. Several ranges of hills traverse the country, separated by valleys fertile and picturesque, filled with numerous little lakes, which have been supposed to cover a third of the country. The useful minerals of coal, lime, and

gypsum, exist in the greatest abundance; and iron is promising, though not yet worked to any extent. The chief objects of industry have as yet been the rearing of cattle and the cutting of timber; in exchange for the products of which there was imported bread-corn from the United States. It has even been concluded that Nova Scotia was not a wheat country. This dependence was found very inconvenient, and a spirit of agricultural improvement having arisen in this colony, supported by several societies patronized by the Earl of Dalhousie, grain is now raised almost equal to its internal consumption. The towns of Nova Scotia as well as of New Brunswick attained great prosperity during the last war, when they became important naval stations, and were enriched by numerous prizes; but peace has deprived them of this source of wealth, and left them to their native resources. A considerable decline has thus been felt, though some property was accumulated during the prosperous period. The society of those towns is very fluctuating, consisting greatly of military and naval officers and merchants, who are stationed or resort to it for a certain period, and then depart to return no more: in this respect it almost resembles a watering-place. The basis of the settlers consists of French Canadians, who live chiefly in the interior on their plantations, and mix little with the British natives. A considerable accession of emigrants has lately been received; and Mr Uniacke imagines there may be a million and a half of acres of good land unoccupied, upon which 20,000 families might be located.

New Brunswick is very nearly a similar country to Nova Scotia, less advanced as to cultivation, but covered with still more abundant and valuable timber, the export of which from St John's, and still more from Miramichi, is very important. A considerable emigration has lately taken place to this country, and Mr Uniacke reckons that two millions of acres still remain for the occupation of new settlers.

The large island of Newfoundland, facing the Bay of St Lawrence, is well known as the seat of the greatest cod-fishery in the world. This island, first discovered and always claimed by England, was finally confirmed to her by the treaty of Utrecht. The French, however, stipulated for the right of fishing on the most valuable part of its coasts; and the same right, at the peace of 1783, was reserved to the United States, who, according to Mr Uniacke, carry on the fishing with much greater vigour than Britain herself, employing 80,000 men, while she employs only 20,000. The interior is rocky and rugged, covered with marshes and impenetrable pine-forests. The inhabitants, at least about the capital of St John's, contrive to raise a supply of vegetables; but for grain and provisions they depend upon the United States. Yet considerable and spirited attempts appear at an early period to have been made to colonize Newfoundland. In 1614 a Dr Vaughan sent thither a number of "idle people;" but they continued to act up to their character, and having learned that in two years "they had not done any labour there to the value of one penny," he sent and brought them all home. Some years after Sir George Cal-

vert, secretary to the king, fitted out a larger colony, consisting of men, women, and children; and, by some letters collected by Captain Whitbourne, it appears really to have at first made some progress. Captain Wynne, in a letter dated 17th August, 1622, says,—"We have wheat, barley, oats, and beans, both eared and codded; a plentiful kitchen-garden. Our beans are exceeding good; our pease shall go without compare; raddish as big as mine arm; lettuce, cale or cabbage, turnips, carrots, and all the rest are of like goodness." In another letter he mentions a house forty-four feet long and fifteen broad, built of stone, and which, by extraordinary "pains-taking," had been made very commodious. In the following year another colony was sent out by the illustrious Cary, Viscount Falkland. Captain Whitbourne penned "a loving invitation to all his majesty's subjects for the advancing his majesty's most hopeful plantation in the Newfoundland," and he painted, in fact, that island as a species of northern paradise. Yet, notwithstanding this high patronage and these considerable efforts, no progress was ever made in Newfoundland as to culture and settlement. Whitbourne heavily inculpates those who, he says, "loved soft feather-beds better than hard cabins, and longed rather to sit by a tavern-fire than to have the cold weather-blasts of these seas blow on their faces." In fact, the habitations of Newfoundland consist merely of temporary wooden sheds or stages for receiving or drying the fish; and the fishermen, during the severity of winter, retire into the towns. Captain Buchan, having undertaken lately to penetrate into the inte-

rior, found it occupied by a race equally savage as those described by Cartier, and who, having inveigled two of his men into their quarters, murdered them in the most barbarous manner.

CHAPTER VI.

ON EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

Motives to Emigration.—Principle of Population.—Greek Colonies.—Roman Colonies.—Emigrations of Barbarous Nations.—Early Colonization of the East Indies.—Different Character of the present Emigration.—Motives to emigrate from England, Scotland, Ireland.—The Voyage outwards.—Choice between United States and British America.—Journey into the Interior.—Selection of Lands.—Emigration considered in respect to the different Classes of Society—in a National View.—Aids afforded by Government.—Canada Company.

MEN in every age have manifested a deep attachment to their native soil, to the scenes of their early life, and the associates of their youthful days; and have never quitted them but with reluctance and regret. Even when impelled by curiosity and adventure to roam for years beneath a foreign sky, they still fondly anticipate the period when they may return, and spend the evening of their days beneath their native roof. Yet it is not the less true, that in every age there have been large bodies of men who quitted for ever the abodes of their nativity to

seek a home and a new country in distant and unknown regions of the earth. Our surprise at this apparent inconsistency will soon cease when we discover the powerful and painful necessity under which they have acted.

In most of the ancient early political systems, the first object of every state was to increase the number of its citizens, to obviate alarms lest the frequent ravage of war, plague, and famine should dispeople the earth. These apprehensions have vanished before the accurate observations made by Smith and Malthus. That Power which had predetermined, not only the permanent duration of the human species, but the peopling of the whole earth from one original stock, has made such ample provision for these grand purposes, that no casualty, no disaster, of whatever magnitude, can defeat or even long retard their fulfilment. One human pair may produce six, eight, or ten children, and, generally, where food can be supplied in abundance, each will rear four to maturity; whence, early marriage being almost universal where the means of subsistence are abundant, the inhabitants of such a district invariably double themselves in one generation. In the next this doubled number doubles itself, and the increase goes on in what is termed geometrical progression. Thus a hundred individuals will in ten generations, or two hundred years, increase as follows:—100, 200, 400, 800, 1600, 3200, 6400, 12,800, 25,400, 50,800, 100,600. This "principle of population," as it is called is thus amply sufficient to cover the earth with people, and rapidly to fill every void which war,

plague or famine, may create. But this rapid multiplication is soon followed by other results which appear at first less obvious. In old and long-settled countries, where the extent of soil is limited and occupied, and where there has been a long enjoyment of peace and well-being, room is no longer left for this accession of numbers; each branch of industry is crowded with labourers beyond what it can support or employ; eager competition reduces wages to the lowest rate on which man can subsist, and many are thrown wholly out of employment. Thus out of the highest prosperity springs the severest distress, and the richest and most improved communities can scarcely afford the necessaries of life to the majority of their people. For this severe pressure there is only one remedy, which is to transport part of the society to another region, where they may find a virgin-soil, untouched by the axe or the plough, and where persevering labour may soon secure to them that abundance which home denies. These colonies, as they are called, when they have overcome the first obstacles, usually enjoy a career of rapid prosperity. They carry out to regions, whose resources are yet fresh and unexhausted, all the arts and resources of an improved and industrious society, which find there an almost unlimited scope. Yet a hard task at first awaits them. They must hew down immense forests,—must construct habitations,—must break the yet untilled soil,—and, above all, must drive before them the native possessors, who, though few in number, are usually warlike, fierce, and indignant at this foreign inroad.

The earliest colonies recorded by antiquity are those formed by the Phœnicians and Greeks. They were numerous, covering all the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, and were of the most signal benefit in extending the range of civilization, commerce, and science. The Phœnicians, finding Egypt fully occupied, directed their chief attention to that fertile part of the coast of Africa which composes the modern states of Tripoli and Tunis. Here they founded, successively, Leptis, Adrumetum, Utica, and finally Carthage, that mighty city, which soon eclipsed its parent and all the other commercial cities of antiquity. At a somewhat later period the Grecian republics, commencing with Miletus, sent forth numerous colonies to the coasts of Sicily, Southern Italy, Gaul, and even the distant and gloomy though fertile shores of the Euxine. They occupied also Cyrene, a part of the African coast which had been overlooked by the Phœnicians. These colonies soon became more opulent and more populous than those of the mother-country, of whom they shared the institutions, arts, and philosophy. Yet original Greece preserved, or rather, perhaps, acquired a pre-eminence in arms and intellectual energy, which none of her colonies ever rivalled.

The ancient emigrations appear to have been conducted on quite different principles from those of modern times. An individual, with his family, if he has one, now collects his effects, takes his passage in a merchant vessel to a remote shore, purchases a piece of land, and settles down upon it. With the ancients, on the contrary, emigration was a national concern,

on a great scale, and under the conduct of distinguished leaders or chieftains. To lead out a colony was considered one of the most arduous exertions of political talent. Frequently, when a state was rent by faction, the head of a party, unable to maintain his ground, was happy thus to create for himself an independent sphere of influence, while his antagonists, thus freed from his rivalry, gladly welcomed his departure. These colonists went certainly under happier auspices than the single and friendless emigrant, who conveys himself to a remote extremity of the globe. They went accompanied by all the persons to whom they were most attached, under the guidance of a favourite chief, carrying with them all that composed their country except its mere external aspect and scenery. They afforded mutual aid, and lightened by sharing each other's troubles. None of the Greek mother-countries seem to have claimed or exercised dominion over their colonies, which became immediately separate states; and if ever they sent aid to the parent-city in her distress, sent it merely from feelings of spontaneous attachment. Athens might for some time seem to present an exception; but the sway which she long claimed over Greece was as the head of the confederacy against Persia, and was exercised without distinction over allies and colonists.

The Roman colonies were established on an entirely different system. They were sent out with the double view of relieving the poverty by which the plebeians were oppressed and excited to tumult, and of strengthening the Roman dominion by a frontier band of citizens. On the conquest of any ter-

ritory, a certain portion of land was usually ceded for the purpose of founding a colony upon it. The number was fixed, and the Triumviri invited the citizens to inscribe their names; and if these proved either deficient or too numerous, the lot decided either the selection or the compulsory emigration of others necessary to make up the precise quota. These colonies contained numbers varying from 300 to 6000. The allotments were small in the first instance, not exceeding an English acre and a half, and never rising to above twenty or thirty acres. These colonies continued Roman, subject to the laws of Rome, though they were not till late admitted to a vote in the *comitia*. The military colonies of Sylla and Augustus, in which the peaceful citizen was expelled to make room for the soldier who had been employed in subverting the liberties of his country, have no relation to our present question.

Another emigration of a terrible character, and exerting an opposite influence, was in continual movement during the early periods of history. The tenants of the bleak forests and wilds of the north, forming themselves, with their wives and children, into vast bands, marched in search of happier climes and more fertile valleys, the path to which they trusted to open with the sword. In a few centuries they had covered with their myriads and trampled under foot the whole extent of the Roman world. The ancients, who saw the north thus give out nation after nation, yet remain still full and overflowing, imagined it to contain some prodigious and almost innumerable hive of people. They called it the *officina hu-*

mani generis. They were not aware that there was a principle at work sufficient to fill up every void, and create this continual surplus with the utmost rapidity. The Greek emigrations had diffused light, science, and liberty over mankind; the northern emigration undid this work, and shrouded the world in darkness. Its career was succeeded by lengthened ages of barbarism; yet we may console ourselves by considering that it was almost over "lost mankind in polished slavery sunk" that the triumph was achieved; that the world which Rome had conquered had lost all that was genuine and pure in the lights which once so brilliantly illumined it. A great historian has even supposed that the world was renovated by this infusion of barbarous energy. However this may be, it is not Europe alone which has been exposed to these formidable inroads. Those made by the conquering races of Tartars into Southern Asia hold sway still from the Dardanelles to the eastern ocean; and to these the remarks above made, both favourable and unfavourable, may apply.

In Europe, during the middle ages, there was little migratory movement. Neither the desolating predatory voyages of the Norsemen, nor the daring heroism of the Crusaders, were inspired by this design. It was when the adventurous sails of a Columbus and a Gama had opened a path over the ocean, and disclosed worlds before unknown to the eye of Europeans, that emigration received a new and powerful impulse. Regions more extensive than all the anciently known world, filled with every species of wealth, imperfectly occupied or feebly defended,

were the result of these discoveries; and all the principles of enterprise and activity were roused into their highest exertion.

Under the above circumstances, emigration to the East and West Indies became a very different thing from that by which the ancient colonies had been founded. It was no longer the poor, destitute, and discontented part of the community, who, ranged under a leader, renounced their native country in hopes of finding, on a distant shore, that subsistence which home had denied them. Crowds of individual adventurers crossed the ocean, not escaping from want, but inspired by the hope of unbounded wealth, of returning laden with the spoil of provinces, and in a condition to rival the pomp of princes. Disdaining every form of humble labour, they employed the compulsory service of the natives, or of slaves dragged from the shores of Africa, to cultivate this fruitful earth, and ransack its bowels. The Spaniards, in many instances, were content to establish the seat of their greatness in the New World; but when England stretched her sceptre over India, the individuals sent out to administer the government went usually in the sole hope of returning to dazzle their friends and countrymen with a display of the princely fortunes acquired. The planters of the British West Indies, again, did not even visit their rich dominion, but, residing in splendour at London, administered it by agents and slaves, and received home the produce.

The time, however, approached when motives of a humbler and more pressing nature began to urge

Britons to seek these distant extremities of the globe. The impulse of want had indeed operated to a certain extent in filling up her North American settlements; yet the additional impulse of religious zeal and persecution had been requisite to carry large bodies of colonists across the Atlantic. In the end of the eighteenth century, Britain approached the zenith of her greatness, and her wealth became the admiration of the world. Yet so mingled are human fate and human affairs, that this was the very period when the pressure of internal distress began to be most deeply felt. The demand for labour had produced its usual effect of bringing forward a supply more than proportioned to it; and the very improved processes of trade and industry had the effect of throwing numerous classes out of employment, who, in the crowded state of every other department, were reduced to great extremity. Different and special causes, in the different branches of the British empire, united to produce this pressure.

In England the immense manufactures carried on for foreign and distant markets are liable to remarkable fluctuations. Those markets are affected by various causes; many are often suddenly closed; all are often and indeed generally overstocked, and sometimes there is an entire suspension of demand. The extreme distress which then ensues, aggravated by the recollection of former plenty and high wages, and by the view of wealth with which they are still surrounded, produces, in turbulent spirits, often an alarming degree of discontent, and in others a despondence which makes them willing for

ever to quit their homes in search of relief. Even the wonders of machinery, which have effected so important an improvement, and to which British manufacture indeed is mainly indebted for its present supremacy, have the painful effect, in the first instance, of throwing numerous labourers out of their regular course of obtaining a livelihood, who cannot easily find another channel of employment for which they are fitted and which will receive them. The stoppage at the peace of numerous government-works had a similar effect, which was perpetuated by the indiscriminate application of the poor-laws. The constant demand for labour had created a habit of early marriage, in the full confidence that employment would be found for whatever progeny might arise from it; and this reliance was now transferred to parochial aid, bestowed too readily on all for whom employment was wanting. The consequence, as stated by Mr Hodges to the House of Commons, was, that in a particular district of Kent, out of a population of twenty-one thousand, there were eight thousand paupers. In this extremity, it became cheaper for the parish to pay at once a sum for transporting the able-bodied pauper to America, than to bear from year to year the burden of supporting himself and family. Mr Hodges, indeed, apprehends that the removal of the surplus population in this manner were vain, unless the cottages in which they dwelt were razed to the ground; for that, so long as one was left standing, there would be found a young couple to marry and go into it; but it really appears to us a singular account of the matrimonial views of the Kentish youth,

that their fulfilment should hinge upon the question, whether or not there was an empty house at hand to occupy?

In Scotland, so far as it is a manufacturing country, which the Western Lowlands are to so great an extent, the same causes operate, and with greater force, owing to the more active and enterprising character of the people, and that disposition to seek their fortunes abroad, which is combined in them with strong local attachment. Although manufacturers are somewhat ill fitted for the toils and hardships of bringing an unsubdued country under cultivation, yet within these few years there has arisen among them a strong disposition to emigrate to North America. This was indeed but too natural in 1826, when a man working by the piece at the coarser fabrics could not earn more than 3s. 6d., while in 1800—1805 the same labour would have brought 20s., and the added labour of a wife and three children could not raise the joint weekly earnings above 5s. 6d. At such a time the impulse to emigrate could not but be deeply felt. Fourteen societies, consisting of about five thousand persons, united in transmitting to government their wishes for a conveyance to British America. They had been long preceded by another class of the population, usually of a more stationary character. The lands in the Highlands had till lately been distributed according to the principles of feudal partition, being let out by the chief to his retainers in small parcels, which they cultivated with their own hands, and paid an annual rent, partly in kind. This system was incompatible with those improved processes of agriculture which thirty years

ago became general throughout the island. It was particularly inconsistent with the plan of converting the mountains into sheep-walks for the supply of the southern markets, which yet was that by which the largest money-rents could be obtained. The *lairds*, losing their habits of feudal residence and clannish attachment, studied chiefly to enlarge their fortunes, which could be effected only by the ejection in considerable numbers of this crowd of little tenants, who cultivated their lands on principles wholly incompatible with the modern systems. The change thus caused has, since the commencement of this century, furnished a continued succession of emigrants, who, even when the state of manufactures would have afforded an opening in the large towns, preferred a simple and rural life in the centre of the American forest.

In the third of the sister kingdoms the necessity for a great emigration was still more pressing and imperious. There has long existed in Ireland a number of people greatly beyond the due proportion even to its fertile soil. This disproportion experiences a yearly aggravation. There seems rooted in the mind of the Irish peasant the belief of a necessity, that as soon as he reaches manhood he should take a wife, without any corresponding necessity of deliberating how or whence she and the family are to be supported. Dr Doyle very plausibly suspects that this improvidence may partly arise from the very extreme of their poverty; that, with little property, which would give them education and self-respect, they would look a little forward; "but now it seems they cannot be worse, and they so go together with-

out thought. Their very depression and extreme poverty throw them together like so many savages in a wood." The petty tenant who has rented a small spot of ground can provide for the numerous offspring thus thoughtlessly ushered into the world only by comminuting his small lot into fragments so much smaller, that it scarcely suffices to supply a cow and pig with scanty meals of potatoes. So rapid is the subdivision thus effected, that instances are quoted of small farms let on a lease of forty years to an individual, on which, at the end of that term, thirty or forty persons have been found located. The Irish landlords have of late bestirred themselves much, both to check this dreadful subletting, and to clear their lands from the burdensome population with which they had been surreptitiously covered. Both these processes, however, are of extreme difficulty; and although they afford a prospect of ultimately removing the evil, they tend in the first instance to bring it out under an aggravated and more distressing form. This band of old occupants will not proceed upon any common notice to quit; there must be a process of legal ejectment, which, as they are backed by the whole country, it sometimes requires a military force to execute. The new tenant also takes possession at his utmost peril, since combinations exist for the express purpose of making him repent such a step. His cattle, his house, his life, are in perpetual danger of attack. The ejected tenants meantime are reduced to a state of utter destitution and starvation, and have scarcely an alternative but to swell those lawless bands which have

spread dismay and desolation through this unfortunate country. It is impossible, therefore, not to agree with the Bishop of Limerick, that emigration, by which "the sufferers are at once taken away from a country where they are a nuisance, and are passed to a country where they will be a benefit and a blessing," must afford instantaneous and important relief. They have indeed begun to find it for themselves, but in a manner which has filled the other two kingdoms with the most well-founded alarm. The ready intercourse now established between the different parts of the empire, especially by steam-packets, which afford the means of crossing the channel at the expense of a few shillings, has given the opportunity of a most extensive migration both into Scotland and England, which had already within themselves been beginning to feel the pressure of excessive population. In Glasgow alone there were supposed, in 1826, to be 40,000 Irish; in the county of Lancaster 60,000; and the number of Irish in London had increased in thirty years from 70,000 to 120,000. As the wages in Britain, even on their present reduced scale, are still decidedly higher than can be obtained in the sister-island, this tide of emigration must continue to flow till the difference be nearly obliterated; that is, till Great Britain, like Ireland, is deluged with poverty and wretchedness, and till, in reference to the condition of her lower orders, she progressively becomes what Ireland is at the present moment. It is most discouraging, likewise, in respect to all attempts to improve the condition of British labourers by partial emigration, the salutary blank

left being instantaneously filled by the crowd of Irish thus continually pouring in. In short, it seems scarcely possible to dissent from the very strong language of the Westminster Review, when it says, "A flood of evils, hardly less wide-spreading and destructive than the consequences of barbarian conquest, is sweeping over our country,—the degradation of our people by commixture with a foreign race, lower in intelligence, lower in habits of order and self-restraint, lower in ideas of comfort and moral independence, lower, in short, in all the qualities which constitute civilized men." This "tremendous irruption," as the same writer terms it, can be averted in no other way than by turning a portion of it into another direction, and that direction can only be America. That continent, indeed, but for its distance, and the mighty ocean which intervenes, might take off at once the whole of the enormous burden which presses on the three kingdoms. These circumstances, unfortunately, limit very strictly its application; yet in every degree to which it can be applied it will be productive of important and almost unmixed benefit.

The emigrant, who proposes to renounce his native country for new seats beyond the Atlantic, has before him a mixed and checquered prospect. He has the assurance, indeed, of finding, at one or two thousand miles in the interior of America, a large lot of excellent soil, which can be obtained upon the payment either of small fees, or of a price so moderate, and on such terms of credit, that he may have the fair prospect of paying them out of the exertions of his industry upon

the ground itself. Before reaching this point, however, he has to cross the ocean, to transport himself and all his effects a thousand or fifteen hundred miles into the interior, and, after all this cost, toil, and peril, he finds himself in the midst of a boundless forest, whose lofty trees must be hewn down, the rank vegetation cleared off, the soil for the first time subjected to the plough, and finally the first harvest waited for, ere he can begin to reap a single fruit of his bold adventure. He must therefore bring with him not only the necessary expenses of his journey, the means of stocking his farm and ground, but also subsistence for at least one year, besides provision for sundry casualties, which cannot easily be counted or specified.

The emigrant, who prepares to take his departure for the western world, is advised not to encumber himself with many commodities, especially not with furniture, the freight of which and its carriage into the interior will cost much more than its value; and in case of landing at New York, it will be loaded with an oppressive duty of 30 per cent. On reaching his destination, cheap and tolerable furniture, better fitted to his first rude habitation, may be procured or made. All that seems necessary is to provide a good stock of warm clothes, and comfortable bedding and blankets, which will be procured better and cheaper at home, and will not occasion much expense or encumbrance in the carriage. Mr Birkbeck recommends also a few simple medicines, since at least some slight indisposition may be expected, as the consequence of so great a journey and change of climate. Every thing else ought to be converted into money, either

dollars or guineas, which coins bear a small premium in Canada.

The first concern of the emigrant is his passage to America. Seven or eight pounds are stated, generally, as the rate of a steerage-passage, either to Quebec or New York. This includes provisions and all expenses incurred on shipboard; but it appears to have been much enhanced by regulations adopted by government upon good principles, but carried too far. The avidity of several shipmasters having induced them to overcrowd their vessels, and to provide an insufficient supply of provisions, both as to quantity and quality, calamitous effects in some instances followed, and an act was passed for regulating the conveyance of passengers, which not only required that the number should not bear more than a fixed proportion to the tonnage, but that the sea-store should allow a pound of beef or a pound of pork per day to each passenger for the longest period that the voyage was likely to continue. But this costly food was not only superfluous, but distasteful to the great majority of Scottish and Irish emigrants, who, if they had potatoes, a bag of oatmeal, and a few herrings, felt themselves amply provided for, and their person maintained in full vigour. Nor, supposing that they departed as they ought to do, in full health, does a surgeon appear to be necessary. It appears that Mr Fitzhugh, agent for the Passengers' Office at Liverpool, has been for some years in the habit of conveying them at very moderate rates; that single men have been taken for £3, including accommodation, water, and fuel; and that in the case of families he

has made it so low as £2 : 10s., or even £2. He estimates that 200 persons could charter a vessel of 300 tons, supplied with every thing except provisions, for £510, making only £2 : 11s. per head. Provisions could be furnished by themselves for £1 : 10s., or could be supplied at £2, making thus the whole expense £4 : 1s., or £4 : 11s. Our own advice would be, rather to pay a few shillings more than to charter a vessel, which would be attended with many risks of mischance and mismanagement, as well as of disunion. This office for passengers, it appears, was established by the American chamber of commerce, with the view of facilitating emigration and preventing imposition upon passengers. Mr Fitzhugh, in his evidence before the committee of 1827, even conceives that the poor might be conveyed to Quebec for 30s. to £2 of passage-money, and 25s. to 30s. of provisions.

After passing the Atlantic, and even before, it is for the emigrant to consider to what point of the mighty continent before him he is to direct his steps. The two grand alternatives are, the United States and Canada. The United States present a very wide and even varied sphere; yet on examination the choice is found to be within somewhat narrow limits. In the Eastern States, land is so far filled up and occupied, that it cannot now be had but at a price too high for those whom poverty induces to emigrate; while the state of industry and of markets is not such as to afford a possibility of farming on a great scale. It is beyond the Alleghany then that the wanderer must look. Here the southern tracts, Kentucky,

Tennessee, and those on the Lower Mississippi, present a luxuriant soil and the means of opulent and profitable planting. But the climate is deadly to the constitution of the European, and the slave-trade which there prevails is abhorrent to his feelings. Few or no British, in fact, have bent their steps toward these regions. The long tract along the north of the Ohio, from the head of that fine river to its junction with the Mississippi, a fruitful, beautiful, temperate region, almost European, and indeed almost English, is that to which the long line of emigrants from the Old World have almost exclusively directed their steps. For those who bring a certain capital and decided habits of industry the prospects are fair. They may purchase from the government fresh and unbroken land, in lots of 160, 320, 480, and 640 acres, at the minimum-price of 8s. per acre, to be paid up in the course of four years. This, however, is land untouched by the axe or the plough, in the depth of the wilderness, distant from any town or dense population. Cleared lands, in the populous districts of Ohio and Kentucky, bring 20, 30, or 40 dollars; and even those which are wholly uncultivated have usually been bought up by speculators, and are offered for sale at a considerable advance upon the government-price. It is a subject of controversy, whether, for an emigrant who has money sufficient, it is best to purchase a cleared spot, or to take up his abode in the wilderness, and do all for himself. In the former case, a pioneer has cleared the way before him; he is saved much weary toil and trouble; he steps at once into a tolerable mansion, and finds him-

self surrounded by various conveniences. Others, however, recommend to the enterprising and active settler, who is prepared to face temporary hardships and privations, that he should proceed with his money to the outer boundaries of settlement. He may there purchase a greater extent of ground, and may lay it out according to his own views and ideas; for, according to Mr Birkbeck, what is called improvement is often in fact deterioration; and he has the prospect, as the tide of emigration rolls on, that this land, independent of the improvement which he puts upon it, will rise of itself, and reach the level of that belonging to the earlier and more improved seats of emigration. Indeed the contemplation and experience of this has given rise to a class of speculators who purchase land at the minimum-price, and keep it waste, in the mere prospect of its rising with the improvement of the neighbouring districts. This system, however, operates much as a check to improvement, by locking up some of the best lands, and retarding the complete settlement of any district; and it is even considered as a dubious and very speculative policy to keep capital thus locked up without any immediate proceeds, and upon the chance of a large rise, which various circumstances may retard or defeat.

The next grand resort of emigrants is to Upper Canada; for the lower province, besides being less fertile, is already in a great measure filled up by the *habitans*. Every British subject, on application at the Land Office, receives a grant of fifty acres without price; and if, in the course of three years, he has cleared five acres, erected a log-house, and made some

other simple improvements, the land is fixed as his in perpetuity. If, indeed, he desires a greater quantity, which most do who have the means, he must pay certain fees, which, for 100 acres, amount to £5, 14s.; for 200, £16 : 17 : 6d., and about eight pounds for every additional hundred. These rates are exceedingly moderate, the highest being less than a fourth of those levied on the American side of the waters; and the soil of Canada being as rich as possible, and its climate, notwithstanding a somewhat rigorous winter, on the whole as good, it seems difficult to assign the grounds of the preference usually given to the lands of the United States, and why, of the ten thousand who usually land annually at Quebec, more than half should proceed thither. Canadian representations consider this to be in many cases the result of delusive reports, and often afterwards bitterly repented of; and though these statements may be suspected of some partiality, yet the great resort of Americans themselves, notwithstanding strong national feelings, to a country which they do not regard as a land of freedom, leaves no doubt of its powerful and solid attractions.

Emigrants to the United States proceed either to New York or Baltimore. The former till lately was the grand centre of arrival; but the land-journey from Baltimore to the Ohio is considerably shorter; and there has lately been made from that city, across the mountains to Wheeling, a road, which is indeed reported by Major Long as rough and bad; but that making between Philadelphia and Pittsburg appears by Mr Flint's statement not to merit any

preference. All authorities agree in exhorting the emigrant not to linger in the large towns, where no benefit is reaped, and his money, which might form the foundation of his new settlement, insensibly diminishes. For single individuals, the mail-coach, though a clumsy and lumbering vehicle, is perhaps the most eligible; but for a family the waggon must be employed. A light waggon, with a canvass cover stretching across from side to side, in the form of an arch, with an opening in front to admit air, may be so contrived as to accommodate a large family with such articles of furniture as are absolutely necessary. Such a waggon may either be hired or purchased; and, in the latter case, it may be resold at somewhat less than half the cost-price. Notwithstanding this loss, the general practice appeared to be in favour of purchase, proving that it was found on the whole most economical. Mr Birkbeck states the price paid for the conveyance of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg at ten dollars, or two guineas for each hundred pounds weight,—a price which limits the settlers to the lightest and most necessary articles,—clothing, bedding, razors, knives, and, if he have a taste for them, books and mathematical instruments.

On reaching the head of the Ohio navigation at Pittsburg or Wheeling, the next object is to descend this great valley, along which lie the finest tracts of Western America. The usual mode of travelling is by water, in arks of various sizes, being flat-bottomed vessels, the interior of which forms a long floating room, in which are all the necessary accommodations for sleeping and living; and on reaching their desti-

nation they must be sold for whatever they will bring, which will not exceed half the cost. Those, however, who are already provided with a waggon, and who propose to go down only a few hundred miles, may find it more advisable to continue the same mode of travelling. Waggons may even be procured very cheap at Pittsburg, on account of the great number brought thither by emigrant families.

Thus transported into the heart of the western territory, the next important task of the settler is to fix the spot on which he is to locate himself; and though delay is injurious, yet some mature deliberation is very requisite. He has probably come down with some idea of the sort of quarter to be chosen; whether he can afford and would be willing to pay for a portion of land partially prepared, or would proceed to the outer border of settlement, and make a cheap purchase of unbroken forest or prairie. As he descends the river he will have an opportunity of surveying the successive regions on its banks. He will receive much advice, which ought to be used with caution and discretion. Some have taken a fondness for a particular district, which they support at all hazards; others wish to attract neighbours to their own vicinity; others again seek to deter them, in order that they may pasture their cattle on the unoccupied surrounding tracts of forest. The next question is, whether to choose forest or prairie? The former as yet has been generally the subject of preference; but Mr Birkbeck rather conceives that the prairie will rise in value when it is discovered that by fencing and draining it will make often the very finest land, without

the severe and gloomy toil which attends the clearing of heavily-timbered ground. It should seem, however, that these operations, which require to be performed on a great scale before any fruit can arise from them, are not very well suited to the many, whose funds and resources are limited. The felling of the trees, on the contrary, can be taken at leisure, and every step in the process is an immediate good.

We must now turn our view to the British American emigrant, whom we have already landed at Quebec. He is strongly advised to prefer that port to New York or Halifax, whence he has to transport himself and baggage by a long land-journey to Upper Canada. This advice, however, was given before the completion of the great New York canal, which forms a continued water-communication between the city of New York and Lake Erie, whence, by crossing the Niagara territory, the steam-vessels of the Ontario would afford a conveyance to York or Kingston. We have not, however, met with any estimates formed upon this new route. From Quebec then the emigrant will be rapidly conveyed in steam-vessels to Montreal for 15s. of steerage-passage-money. From Montreal the long chain of rapids is to be passed, and a passage through them may be taken in one of the bateaux, which will cost £1, 8s., and he will be conveyed in about a week to Kingston. Thence a steerage-place in the steam-packet, costing 15s. will convey him to York, the seat of the Land Office, and situated in the finest district of Upper Canada. The tract from the mouth of the Niagara river to the head of Lake Erie is generally considered the most valua-

ble and desirable. Another on the south bank of the Ottawa, between that river and the St Lawrence, has of late been extensively colonized, especially by Scottish emigrants, who have given the name of Perth, Lanark, Huntly, to its leading stations. They are at present most conveniently approached from Kingston; but when the Rideau Canal shall have reached its completion, which it is rapidly approaching, the Ottawa will become the grand line of communication to Upper Canada, and these settlements will be still more easily accessible.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have become of late very considerable seats of emigration, the reproach of barrenness which was long attached to them having been found only partially applicable. These countries are supposed to include four millions of ungranted acres, of which about half consists of good land. The expense of the passage is here much smaller; the settler is nearer markets; at the same time the soil scarcely in any case possesses the luxuriant fertility of Upper Canada, and the climate, often oppressed with fog from the Atlantic, is not quite so agreeable. The islands of Prince Edward, Cape Breton, the district of Gaspe on the Lower St Lawrence, and even some tracts of Newfoundland, are recommended as possessing the same advantages and general character; but these last coasts, having yet no rudiments of settlement, and being destitute of towns, roads, and communications, cannot be resorted to with advantage by the individual emigrant.

Let us now endeavour to point out to the different classes of emigrants what they have to expect in

transporting themselves beyond the Atlantic, and whether they will act wisely in undertaking so mighty a change.

Emigration to America, as already observed, presents no longer any of those vague and brilliant prospects which dazzled the eyes of the early adventurers. They can hope no longer to share the spoil of kingdoms, to open sources of golden wealth, or to return and dazzle their countrymen with the treasures of the Western World. To earn simple plenty by a life of labour is all that America now offers. Yet such is the pressure of circumstances, that thousands for this alone gladly abandon all that is attractive in the idea of country and home, and become the citizens of a remote and almost savage territory.

The increase of population, and its disproportion to the means of subsistence, operate by no means exclusively on the lowest classes of society. Each, as it rises in the scale, throws out a surplus who want the means of preserving those habits and that place in social life in which their birth placed them, and which it must be painful and humiliating to lose. Although country, therefore, possesses greater attractions for this than for the inferior classes, they do not hesitate to make the sacrifice, and eagerly seek civil and military employment in India and the colonies, even when the income is not very ample. But to the higher and even to the upper part of the middling classes, America has not been found to offer any very tempting prospect. The learned professions of law and medicine, forming a species of aristocracy, which alone rises above the general level, are over-

crowded even there; and a foreign competitor, unless possessed of an eminence which would make him little inclined to emigrate, would excite jealousy. In the church, we believe, the opening is greater, and there has been some clerical emigration; but the members of this body have usually corporate ties and attachments at home, which they are reluctant to quit. Merchants, especially of a speculative description, seem to abound beyond the extent of employment that exists for them; a considerable number are emigrants, but seem rather to have embraced this pursuit under the impulse of circumstances and opportunities, than to have gone out with a view of becoming merchants. The only class who have sought to find in the West the means of living in wealth have been opulent farmers, who hoped to raise themselves into proprietors, and to cultivate estates without the burden of rent, tithes, rates, or taxes. The causes have already appeared which render these expectations delusive, and which limit the western farmer to a small scale of operation and a moderate competence. Mr Birkbeck has indeed made a calculation, how, upon an investment of £2000 upon land in Illinois, the farmer may support himself, defray all his expenses, and clear a profit of £450. His estimates, however, are understood to have completely failed; and it may deserve remark, that they are founded on the presumption that both wheat and Indian corn will bring nearly double the price which he himself states them to bear in the more improved district of Indiana. (Letters, p. 46-7. Notes, p. 143.) But, indeed, this western district must labour for years,

and even ages, under two heavy wants, those of markets and of money. The territory is rich, but only in productions common to it with the other temperate climates. It yields no peculiar or exclusive article which will bear a value in the general market of the world. The same rude products of the soil are still the staple of the most improved territories of Eastern America; so that those of the interior, after being burdened with a land or water carriage of two or three thousand miles, reach a market already glutted. This want is not so severely felt at first. The surplus is then small, and is taken off by the government establishment, or by the succession of new emigrants, who bring always some money, and must for a year or two purchase the necessaries of life. Both these resources, however, disappear or become trifling as the country is filled with settlement and cultivation; and the farmer sees a superfluous produce accumulate, of which he has no means of disposing. Mr de Roos knew a gentleman in Canada who had a farm of several hundred acres, yet was fain to ply in the steam-packets on Lake Ontario, for the sake of earning a few dollars in hard cash. This want of money is combined, indeed, with the means of plentiful subsistence; but it becomes thus almost impossible to support what in Europe is called genteel life. The British gentleman, in his tastes and habits, is almost quite an artificial being. The remotest extremities of the earth must contribute to his humblest meal. He cannot breakfast unless the tea of China be combined with the sugar of Jamaica; the wines of France or Portugal must be

placed on his table; the spices of India must season his victuals; he must be dressed in the cloths of Wiltshire, the silks of Lyons, and the linens of Silesia. But these foreign luxuries, which the habits of European life have converted into necessaries, can only be procured by some article which, bearing a price generally over the world, can be turned into money, the common measure of value. The person who has overcome his European habits may indeed live very happily, with every necessary, some luxuries, and complete independence. But most Europeans, even in the middle rank of life, will probably look with horror on the idea of renouncing this second nature, which has been so completely formed in them. The bulk of the emigrant population, then, must long consist of wealthy peasants, dressed in home-spun cloths, cultivating their own ground with their own hands, and living in simple plenty. For the higher ranks this continent affords no refuge; and scarcely for any in the middling classes who do not stand nearly at the bottom of the scale. The exclusion from social intercourse, the distance from church, the want of any opportunity of attaining the higher branches of education, must also operate strongly with those accustomed to the accommodations and elegances of European life.

Having thus excluded all classes except the lower, and those raised a few steps above them, we may observe, that for them, provided they can face the first hardships and difficulties of settlement, the change appears to be very decidedly favourable. Those who were at home in a state of distress and starvation are re-

lieved, and enjoy a secure and plentiful subsistence. Even the labourer, who did not want employment here, is elevated some steps in the scale of society. The petty farmer and tradesman also, though they may not be wealthier, will be in a more secure, independent, and comfortable condition. Generally speaking, those who are well at home will act wisely in remaining; but, for the many whose situation, as to employment and circumstances, is essentially bad, a removal to the transatlantic regions affords a fair promise of relief.

It is the transportation, meantime, of the lowest rank, of those who are either in or on the very verge of pauperism, that is, in a national view, the object of emigration. The difficulty is how they are to find the means of conveyance across so great an ocean, and of subsistence till they can make the ground to yield it. Under these views, government have been induced, in repeated instances, to facilitate and encourage emigration, not only by free grants of land, but by defraying a part or the whole of the expense of conveyance, and even by furnishing agricultural instruments and rations of provisions for a certain period.

The first emigration under the auspices of government took place in 1815. The terms announced in the commencement of that year consisted in free passage, and a grant, on arrival, of a hundred acres, the same to be hereafter bestowed on each male child attaining the age of 21. The settlers were moreover to be furnished with rations for at least six or eight months, and with agricultural implements at a

cheap rate. In return, each head of a family was to deposit £16 for himself, and £2, 2s. for his wife, to be repaid at the end of two years in case of their being found regularly settled on the lot assigned, and employed in bringing it under cultivation. It was announced, as indeed the terms showed, that these encouragements had less in view the inducement to emigration itself, than the directing that which would spontaneously have taken place towards Canada. This system of transporting those only, who could have transported themselves, had evidently no reference to the relief of a pauper and suffering population; and it was liable to the additional objection, that those who could command £16 were likely to be the most respectable of the labouring class, the loss of whom at home might be somewhat severely felt. However, from Scotland alone about 700 accepted these conditions, and were conveyed to Quebec. They declined the invitation of government to accept lands in Lower Canada, and were conveyed up to Montreal. Some accepted employment in that city, and even in the United States, though by so doing they forfeited their deposit-money. A considerable number were located in Glengarry district, which extends along the river above Montreal. The rest, amounting to sixty families, were maintained during the winter in the barracks at Brockville, and proceeded in spring towards the Ottawa. Here they founded Perth, which, being re-enforced by military colonies and successive bands of emigrants, has become an important station, and the centre of a number of other settlements. In the following year it

was expected that government would have repeated the same terms; but they allowed only land, agricultural implements, and rations for one year,—terms which, however, were sufficient to attract a considerable body of fresh emigrants. In 1818, Mr Robertson brought out a useful body of emigrant farmers from Perthshire, who paid their own passage, but were conveyed by government to the lands assigned to them.

In 1820, a severe pressure was felt in the manufacturing districts of the west of Scotland, and alarming symptoms of discontent had even been manifested. Under these circumstances, petitions were forwarded to government to convey and settle in Canada a number of the distressed operatives. This prayer was not granted in its full extent; but a promise was made, for those who could effect their own passage, of a grant of land, and £10 in money to be paid by instalments after their arrival. Nine hundred accepted these terms, and 196 more, by means of subscriptions in London and Glasgow, were enabled to follow. They were forwarded to Perth, and settled in two neighbouring townships, one of which was called Lanark. The accounts transmitted to Scotland being favourable, applications were made next year from a much greater number, amounting to between six and seven thousand; but as only eighteen hundred and eighty-three were found to have the means of paying their passage, that number alone was embarked, and they furnished the means of adding two new townships to the Lanark settlement.

The condition of Ireland, from its excessive popu-

lation, poverty, and discontent, having long drawn the attention of government, it was determined in 1823 to employ £15,000 by way of experiment in removing a colony to Canada out of its most distressed southern districts. Mr Peter Robinson, who was employed to conduct this colony, found at first some jealous feeling among the people; but, having by judicious conduct succeeded in removing it, he had the offer of much great numbers than he was able to receive. They came even to the sides of the ship, and were much disappointed at not obtaining a passage. Their number was five hundred and sixty-eight, consisting chiefly of dispossessed farmers, and almost all Catholics; and they were located about three hundred miles above Quebec. The whole expenses amounted to £12,900, being about £22 for each emigrant. The accounts were favourable; and, in 1825, government having allowed the larger sum of £30,000, Mr Robinson embarked at Cove two thousand and twenty-four persons, who on their arrival were located in Newcastle and Bathurst districts. Government have continued to allow annual sums of similar amount, and within the two last years have directed a considerable proportion to the unoccupied lands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

These experiments, on a limited scale, having succeeded, it has come under deliberation, whether a great effort could not be made at once to throw off the redundant population which presses so heavily on the three kingdoms. It appears evident that they could most commodiously, and with a great addition of comfort, spare a million of their present inhabit-

ants; but as none of the estimates offer any assurance, that the transportation and all the expense of settlement could be reduced materially below £20 a head, this would amount to the very alarming sum of twenty millions sterling, which the nation in its present circumstances can scarcely be expected to disburse for any object whatever. It has been necessary, therefore, to consider the various modes in which the burden might be lightened. One suggestion is, that repayment of the sums advanced to the emigrants might be required and expected from them in the course of ten or twelve years. These expectations, it is to be feared, are too sanguine. We have already noticed the extreme scarcity of money under which these new settlements already labour, which must for a long time continue to press harder and harder, and would be aggravated in an extraordinary manner by throwing in at once so great an additional body of agricultural producers. Even the limited emigrations between 1817 and 1823 occasioned an extraordinary fall in the prices of produce. A barrel of flour sunk from fourteen to four dollars; a bushel of potatoes from two dollars to one shilling; a bushel of wheat from four dollars to four shillings; beef or mutton from ninepence to threepence. A settler complained to Colonel Cockburn, on his return to Canada, after an interval of years,—"You left us without food, and now we have more food than we know what to do with." There seems reason to apprehend, therefore, with the addition proposed, that the products of agriculture would become so superabundant as to be almost without any marketable value. The feeling also of the

moral obligation to repay advances made by government would be much fainter than in the case of private creditors. These sums could only perhaps be levied by legal process,—a mode equally odious and distressing, and, where the whole population of a country were in the same condition, probably inefficient. Colonel Cockburn mentions several cases, on a small scale, of relief afforded in periods of difficulty, the accounts of which were kept open for a considerable time, but finally closed from the impossibility of collection. It seems essential then to put aside every idea of the repayment of millions out of Canada; and government can look to no other mode of lightening the expenditure, than from the constitutions of corporate bodies, or classes of individuals, whom just claims, or feelings of personal kindness, may attach to the emigrant-population. In England the poor-rates are especially contemplated; and where the system of affording relief to able-bodied but unemployed labourers has been established, it seems really the interest of the rate-payers to make an effort at once for the removal of those who are likely to become frequent burdens upon them. They could not perhaps defray the whole of so great an expenditure; for it would not be desirable to burden such a fund with debt; but they might give considerable aid. It seems also fair to expect of the Irish landlord, who has the comfort and benefit of ejecting a body of superfluous tenants who were cumbering his ground, that he should take some interest in their not being exposed to utter destitution. In Scotland, where the parochial funds are applied only to the relief of the aged and

the infirm, with respect to which classes emigration is out of the question, there is no public fund from which aid could be drawn, and private contributions could not be expected to go far towards an object of such extent. Perhaps in Scotland there might be a greater proportion of labourers who could contribute something towards their own removal.

On the whole, when we consider the immense sums which have been spent in a few months of, perhaps, unnecessary warfare, the disposal of a few millions on so salutary and even urgent an object ought not possibly to be grudged by the public even in its present straitened circumstances; however, there is little chance of its being actually done, the nation not calling for it, and ministers, unless under circumstances of real or seeming necessity, not being forward to involve themselves in the difficulties arising out of so large an expenditure. It is then important to give encouragement, or at least remove every obstacle, to that individual emigration which is taking place on a much greater scale than any yet despatched under government auspices. Between 1815 and 1824 the emigrants to Quebec increased from 5000 to 12,900 annually; and the great ports of the United States received doubtless a still greater number. Many of these had of course great difficulties to struggle with, and, in the first instance at least, had no resource but to hire themselves as day-labourers. Indeed we find this course rather recommended for those who arrive without any, or with slender funds. Their earnings, used with economy, enable them to raise a little capital; they acquire a knowledge of the country, and can

proceed with deliberation to the important concern of establishing themselves on a desirable spot. There seems little doubt, that there would be many in America, who, labouring under the severe want of servants, both for farming and domestic purposes, would very gladly pay the passage of an emigrant, in consideration of an indenture for not a very lengthened term of years. If so, they ought not, we think, to be deterred by the name of slavery, which would be unjustly applied to a transaction so often entered into with a mere view to the improvement and benefit of the person thus bound. Some such arrangement, in fact, took place with respect to the persons called German Redemptioners, who, on arrival, came under an obligation to serve for two or three years a master, who thereupon paid their passage. Some are even said to have defrayed their voyage in this manner who had money in their pockets, which they wished to reserve. This redemptioner system has been decried in consequence of instances of oppression on the part of the captains of vessels; but, provided a good system of regulation were concerted between the government and the persons in want of workmen, it does not appear why a large number of the distressed members of the labouring class might not in this manner be transferred across the Atlantic.

A spirited attempt to facilitate emigration on a large scale has been made by the Canada Company, established in 1826, during that period of sanguine enterprise, to which we owed the rise of so many *joint-stock* associations. This body purchased a *block*, as it is termed, of a million of acres in the London

district, to the east shore of Lake Huron, for which they stipulated to pay £145,000, of which, however, £45,000 was to be employed in the improvement of the country itself, and the payment to be made by annual instalments of £15,000. The Company, as appears from Mr M'Taggart's statement, do not convey over emigrants; but they have agents in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and other principal towns in Britain, and in Quebec and Montreal on the other side, from whom every information and direction may be obtained. On arrival, the settlers find themselves, not in the depth of a lonely and unfrequented forest, but in the midst of settlements and villages already organized, and where all the first difficulties are smoothed before them. When the circumstances, too, appear to justify such a step, the Company make advances to enable the settler to commence his operations. They dispose of a town lot of a quarter of an acre to each emigrant, and a country lot, of which the minimum extent is fifty acres. The price put on the former was at first £4; but it was found afterwards necessary to raise it to £6, and finally to £8. The country lots, at first 7s. 6d., were raised to 10s. and to 12s. 6d. per acre. This purchase-money was to be paid in five, six, or seven instalments, at convenient intervals. On these terms, by the end of 1827, about 300 lots, or 60,000 acres, had been disposed of. The centre of settlement was made at the village of Guelph, founded on the Speed, a branch of the Ouse, or Grand River of Lake Erie. These arrangements appear to have contributed very much to the comfort and satisfaction of the colonists; but we are concern-

ed to state, that the anticipations of extensive profit which the Company indulged have not been as yet realized. The blame, very hastily it should seem, has been attached to Mr Galt, the intelligent and ingenious person to whom the management had been intrusted. The plain truth, conformable to the views already given, appears to be, that the payment of half a million, or any thing approaching to that sum, in hard cash, out of the Canadas, must be very distant indeed. For the present, we doubt the Company must be content with the gratification of serving their country and countrymen, without any hope of that reward which their spirited exertions merited, and may perhaps attain at some future era.

Since the above observations were written, we have perused the remarks of Mr M'Taggart, Mr Head, and Captain Hall, on the interesting subject of emigration. These authorities vary considerably from each other; but upon the whole there appears nothing to alter materially the views already given. Mr M'Taggart is certainly the most decided anti-emigrationist that we have ever met with. He deprecates particularly the emigration of Irish; but really, when he estimates the term of an Irishman's life on the other side of the Atlantic at two years, conceiving, that if he enters a quarry, the rocks infallibly blow him up, or if he attempts to cut down a wood, the trees fall upon and crush him, he not having wisdom sufficient to remove himself from these dangers,—and that, at all events, he sinks speedily a victim to the want of common precaution against the inclemency of the climate,—it does not appear very possible to consider this nation

so wholly devoid of the common principle of self-preservation. Captain Hall, treating specially of the Irish colony brought out *four* years ago by Mr Robinson, considers their actual situation as excessively comfortable; and Mr Head even apprehends, that the mud-cabins of the Irish form a more complete fence against the cold than the rudely-built stone cottages of the Scotch. Both these writers speak favourably of the lot of the industrious part of the emigrant-population; and really, if they ripen that state into the simple abundance and gay contentment, of which Captain Hall has drawn so interesting a picture in the *Habitant*, there appears little more to desire. That writer even apprehends, that persons in the middling rank, who live on half-pay, or small annuities, provided they are very active and ready, as the expression is, to turn their hand to any thing, may transform pinching poverty at home into ease and abundance in Canada, and that they might even have a fair chance of meeting with as good society as in most country towns in England.

The above three works having been published since the body of this volume was written and printed, we have examined them with the view of appending any additional information which they may be found to comprise. They make, however, no essential addition to the facts contained in the preceding work, and are chiefly interesting from the personal narrative and observations of the travellers. This is particularly the case with Captain Hall, whose pic-

tures of manners and social intercourse are drawn with so lively a pencil, and render his works so very captivating. Neither does it come within our scope to enter into the lengthened and interesting discussions upon the merits and working of the political constitution of the United States, which form so great a proportion of his book. There are, however, some particulars in these volumes which are necessary to bring down the picture of America to the present moment.

The most memorable changes now taking place in America relate to that immense system of inland-navigation which she has for some time been creating and extending. Already a mighty canal of 360 miles in length, the boast of America, connects the Hudson with Lake Erie. Another connecting that Lake with the Ohio, and consequently with the Mississippi, is on the eve of completion, and will establish an immense inland-line of above four thousand miles in length, from New York to New Orleans. Another great cut, uniting the Erie canal with Lake Ontario, is in equal forwardness.

The consequence of these great works has been, that the character of rapid growth, which has so much distinguished the American cities, is concentrating itself at New York and New Orleans, the keys to this grand system of inland-navigation. Baltimore, whose sudden rise astonished the world, is now standing still; and the same is the case with Philadelphia, which once ranked as the capital of America. These cities and their states, with a view to retrieve their fortunes, are forming vast projects. They contem-

plate either a canal or a rail-way, carried over the Alleghany, and connecting the Chesapeake with the Ohio. The former project has even been favourably reported on to Congress. Mr M'Taggart, however, treats with derision the idea of "locking the Alleghany;" and Captain Hall apprehends, that, if the Americans had either of these works made to their hands, no tolls which could be levied upon them would be sufficient to keep them in repair.

In Canada the Rideau Canal, connecting the Ottawa with Lake Ontario, has already been mentioned, and the original estimate as presented by government at £169,000. Mr M'Taggart, however, who went out for the express purpose of surveying its line, found that a solid and durable canal could by no means be constructed for such a sum, and the estimate has been raised to no less than £438,000. This canal, however, was undertaken for military purposes only, to facilitate communication and the conveyance of stores to Upper Canada in case of invasion. Captain Hall agrees with Mr Gillivray in thinking that it is too circuitous to become ever the commercial line between Lower and Upper Canada. The only mode of improving this is by removing the obstructions to the navigation of the St Lawrence, or, where they cannot be removed, making canals parallel to that river. Thus, it is conceived, the conveyance of goods from Quebec to Lake Ontario might be reduced from £4, 10s. to 15s. per ton. At present they may be conveyed from New York by the Erie Canal for £2, 13s.; so that this last city must, in some degree, monopolize the commerce of Upper Canada, and even afford the most

commodious route for emigrants to proceed thither. The inhabitants of Upper Canada have really made most spirited attempts to improve their own inland navigation. They have completed, at an expense of £117,000, the important canal of La Chine, by which a very dangerous part of the navigation below Montreal is avoided. A still more important project is, that of the Welland Canal, intended to connect Lake Ontario with Lake Erie by a line of forty-one miles, and which, as the latter is 330 feet higher than the former, will require thirty-seven locks. The estimate was £200,000, and the subscription being opened in 1826, divided into 16,000 shares of £11, 5s. each, has been filled up to the extent of 13,500 shares, which appears to afford good assurance of the accomplishment of the enterprise. In Nova Scotia also, Mr M'Taggart mentions a canal uniting together a chain of lakes so as to form an inland navigation of fifty miles, and not only connecting a very fertile territory with the coast, but opening access to very rich mines of slate, coal, iron, and copper.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF IMPORTANT WORKS RELATING TO AMERICA.

VOLUME I.

INTRODUCTION.—Supposed early Knowledge of America.

Zeni, Viaggi di Nicolo et Carlo, in Ramusio, Navigazzioni e Viaggi, tom. ii.

Torfæus, Gronlandia Antiqua, seu Veteris Gronlandiæ Descriptio, 12mo. Hafniæ, 1706

Torfæus, Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, 12mo. ib. 1705

Snorro Sturlo, Historia Regum Septentrionalium; edidit et illustravit John Perinskiold, 2 tom. fol. Stockholm, 1697

Grotius de Origine Gentium Americanarum, 4to. 1642

Eggers. On the Real Situation of the Osterbygd (eastern coast) of Greenland. (In Danish.)—Memoirs of the Society of Rural Economy at Copenhagen. 1793

Acosta. Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, 4to. Seville, 1590. In English, 1604

Garcia (F. G.) Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales, fol. Valencia, 1607

De Pauw, Récherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, 2 tom. 8vo. Berlin, 1768—9

Essai sur la Question, Quand et Comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée, 5 tom. 12mo, Paris.

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CHAP. I.—Early Voyages.

Cabot, Voyage of, in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. iii.

Petrus Martyr de Angluria de Rebus Oceanicis et Orbe Novo, décades tres, fol. Bale, 1516

Oviedo, Gonzales Hernandez, la Historia General y Natural de las Indias, fol. Seville, 1513. Reprinted in Barcia, Historiadores Primitivos del Nuevo Mundo, and a long extract in Ramusio, tom. iii.

Gomara, Francis Lopez, Historia General de las Indias, fol. Madrid, 1535. Also reprinted in Barcia Historiadores.

Barcia, D. Gonzales, Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, 3 tom. fol. 1745

Herrera, Anton. de, Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano, 8 tom. fol. Madrid, 1601

Verazzani Viaggi, in Ramusio, tom. ii.

Cartier, Jacques, Discours du Voyage aux Terres Neuves, les Canada, &c. 8vo. Rouen, 1598

Cabeca de Vacca, Alvar Nugnez, Relacion de los Naufragios, in Barcia, Historiadores Primitivos, &c. Italian translation in Ramusio, tom. iii.

Garcilossa de la Vega, Florida della Inca, &c. 4to. Lisbon, 1605. In Barcia, Historiadores.

Cardenas. D. Historia della Florida, fol Madrid.

Ribes, Jean, Histoire du dernier Voyage aux Indes Occidentales, lieu dite la Floride, 8vo. Lyons, 1566

Levinus de Navigatione Gallorum Terra Floridana, deque Clade anno 1555 accepta, 8vo. Antwerp, 1560. Usually appended to the Novus Orbis of Benzo. Also in De Bry, America, Part II.

Histoire Notable de la Floride aux Indes Occidentales, 8vo. Paris, 1586

CHAP. IV.—VIRGINIA.

The Voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Lane, Greenville, &c. in Hackluyt, tom. iii.; and in De Bry, America, Part I.

Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affairs in Virginia. London, 1620

HAMOR, True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia. London, 1615

SMITH, John, General History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles, fol. London, 1627. In Pinkerton, vol. xiii.

BEVERLEY, R., History of Virginia, by R. B. a Native and Inhabitant of the Place, 8vo. London, 1702

STITH, William, History of Virginia, 8vo. Williamsburg, 1747

Discoveries of John Lederer in Three several Marches from Virginia, 4to. London, 1672

The Discovery of New Brittaine, begun August 17, 1650, by E. Bland, A. Wood, S. Brewster, and E. Pennant, at the head of Appamuttack River in Virginia to the Falls of Blandina, First River in New Brittaine, 4to. 1651

CHAP. V.—NEW ENGLAND.

A briefe Relation of the Discovery and Planting of New England. London, 1622

Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled in New England. London, 1622

GORGES, Sir Ferdinando, America painted to the Life, 4to. 1658—9

JOSCELYN, John, New England's Rarities Discovered, in Birds, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 12mo. London, 1672

JOSCELYN, John, Account of three Voyages to New England, 8vo. London, 1674

NEAL, Daniel, History of New England, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1720

MATHER, Cotton, Ecclesiastical History of New England, fol. London, 1762

HUTCHINSON. History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1628 to 1750, 8vo.
London, 1760. Ibid. 2 vols 8vo, 1765
HUBBARD, Present State of New England, being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians. London, 1677
BISHOPE, New England Judged, &c. 4to. 1661
CALEF, Robert, More Wonders of the Invisible World.
London, 1700

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BELKNAP, Jeremy, History of New Hampshire, 3 vols. 8vo.
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History of Connecticut. By a Gentleman of the Province, 12mo.
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WILLIAMS, Samuel, History of Vermont, 8vo. Boston.
THOMAS, Gabriel, Historical Description of West-New-Jersey, 8vo. London, 1698
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Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, 2 vols 8vo. London, 1779
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Dublin, 1745
COXE, Daniel, Description of the English Province of Carolina, 4to. London, 1722
CHALMERS, George, Political Annals of the present United Colonies, from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763, 4to.
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BARTRAM, William, Travels through Carolina, Georgia, Florida, &c. 2 vols 8vo. 1792
DOUGLAS, Francis, Historical Summary of the First Planting, &c. of the British Settlements in North America, 2 vols 8vo.
London, 1755
BRITISH EMPIRE in America, 1 vol. 4to. 2 vols 8vo. ib. 1778

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MARQUETTE, Père de, Journal, in Thévenot Relation de Divers Voyages Curieux, fol. Paris, 1663—72

TONTI, Chevalier de, Dernières Découvertes faites dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, par La Salle, 12mo. Paris, 1693. Also in Voyages au Nord, tom. v.

JOUSTEL, M., Journal Historique du dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le Golfe du Mexique, 12mo. Paris, 1713. English translation, 8vo. London, 1714.

L'ESCARBOT, Marc, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 8vo. Paris, 1609

LA HONTAN, M. le Baron, Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, 2 vols 12mo. Hague, 1709

CHARLEVOIX, P., Histoire et Déscription Générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, 4 tom. 4to., 6 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1744

The Voyage is translated into English, 2 vols 8vo. London, 1772

COLDEN, Cadwallador, History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, 2 vols 8vo. London, 1747

CARVER, Jonathan, Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, 8vo. London, 1774

LONG, J., Travels of an Indian Interpreter, 4to. London, 1774

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SMITH, ——— Travels in the United States of America, 2 vols 8vo. London.

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BRISSOT, J. P., Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 3 tom. 8vo. 1791

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Kalm, Peter, Resa in Norra America, 3 vols 8vo. Stockholm, 1753—61
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Filson, John, Discovery, Settlement, and present State of Kentucky, 8vo. Wilmington, 1784
Imlay, George, Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, 8vo. London, 1792
To this Filson's Narrative is appended.
Mishaud, F. A., Voyage à l'Ouest des Monts Alleghany, 8vo. Paris, 1808
Pike, Zabulon Montgomery, Explanatory Travels through the Western Territory of North America, 4to. London, 1811
Lewis and Clarke, Captains, Travels across the American Continent to the Source of the Missouri River, and to the Pacific Ocean, 4to. London, 1814
James, Edwin, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the Years 1819—20, 3 vols 8vo. London, 1826
Schoolcraft, Narrative of a Tour to the American Lakes, 8vo. Albany.
Keating, J., Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the Red River, the Lake of the Woods, &c. 2 vols 8vo. London, 1827

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Torquemada, Juan de, Monarquia Indiana, 3 tom. fol. Seville, 1815
Venegas, Padre Miguel, Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Spiritual, &c. 3 tom. 4to. Madrid, 1758
In English, under the title of History of California, 2 vols 8vo. London, 1759
Muller, Samuel, Voyages from Asia to America, and Discovery of the North-West Coast of America, 4to. London, 1761
Meares, John, Voyages to the North-West Coast of America, 4to. London, 1791
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Vancouver, George, Voyage of Discovery into the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World, 3 vols 4to. London.

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Foxe, Luke, North-West Fox, or Fox from the North-West Passage, 4to. London, 1635
James, Thomas, the Strange and Dangerous Voyage of, on his intended Discovery of the North-West Passage, 4to. London, 1633

HEARNE, Samuel, Journey from Prince of Wales' Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 4to. London, 1795

MACKENZIE, Sir Alexander, Journey from Montreal through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, 4to. London, 1801

Ross, Captain John, a Voyage of Discovery for the Purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay, &c. 4to. London, 1819

SABINE, Edward, Remarks on the Account of the late Voyage of Discovery to Baffin's Bay, published by Captain Ross, 8vo. London, 1819

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FISHER, Alexander, a Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions in the Years 1819 and 1820, 8vo. London, 1821

PARRY, Captain, Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage, 4to. London, 1824

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FRANKLIN, John, Narrative of a Second Journey in 1825-6-7, 4to. London, 1828

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RECENT TRAVELS AND PRESENT STATE OF NORTH AMERICA.

VOLNEY. Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis d'Amérique, &c. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1803
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WELD, Isaac, Travels through the States of North America and Canada, during 1795-6-7, 4to. London, 1798
Edition in 2 vols 8vo.

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DAVIS, John, Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States, 8vo. London, 1802

PRIEST, William, Travels in the United States, 8vo. London, 1801

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HODGSON, Adam, Letters from North America, 2 vols 8vo. London, 1824

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DWIGHT, Timothy, Travels in New England and New York, 4 vols 8vo. London, 1823

FLINT, James, Letters from America, 8vo. Edin. 1822

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BELL, W., Letters from Canada, 12mo. 1824

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BECK, L. C., Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri, 8vo. Albany, 1823

STODDARD, Amos, Sketches of Louisiana, 8vo. Philadelphia, 1812

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HALL, Captain Basil, Travels in America in the Years 1827 and 1828, 3 vols 8vo. Edin. 1829

M'TAGGART, John, Three Years in Canada, an Account of the State of the Country in 1826–7–8, 2 vols 8vo. London, 1829

HEAD, John, Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America, 8vo. London, 1829

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